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CHRISTIANITY

IN THE

UNITED STATES

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D.

Pt. 1

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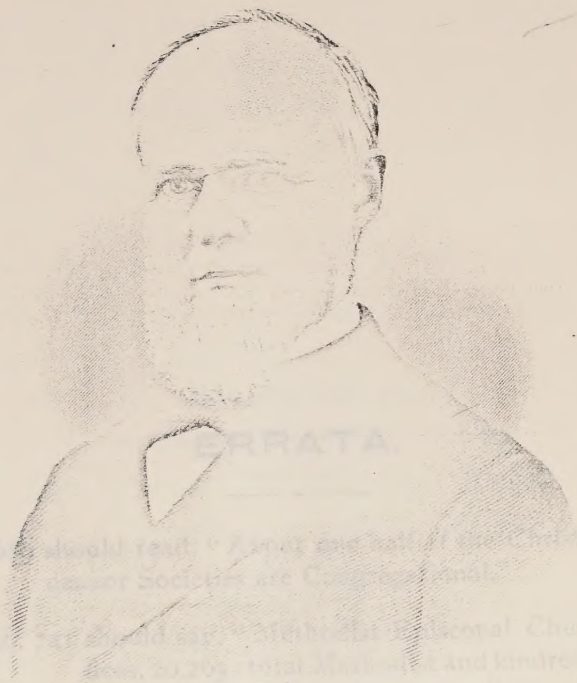

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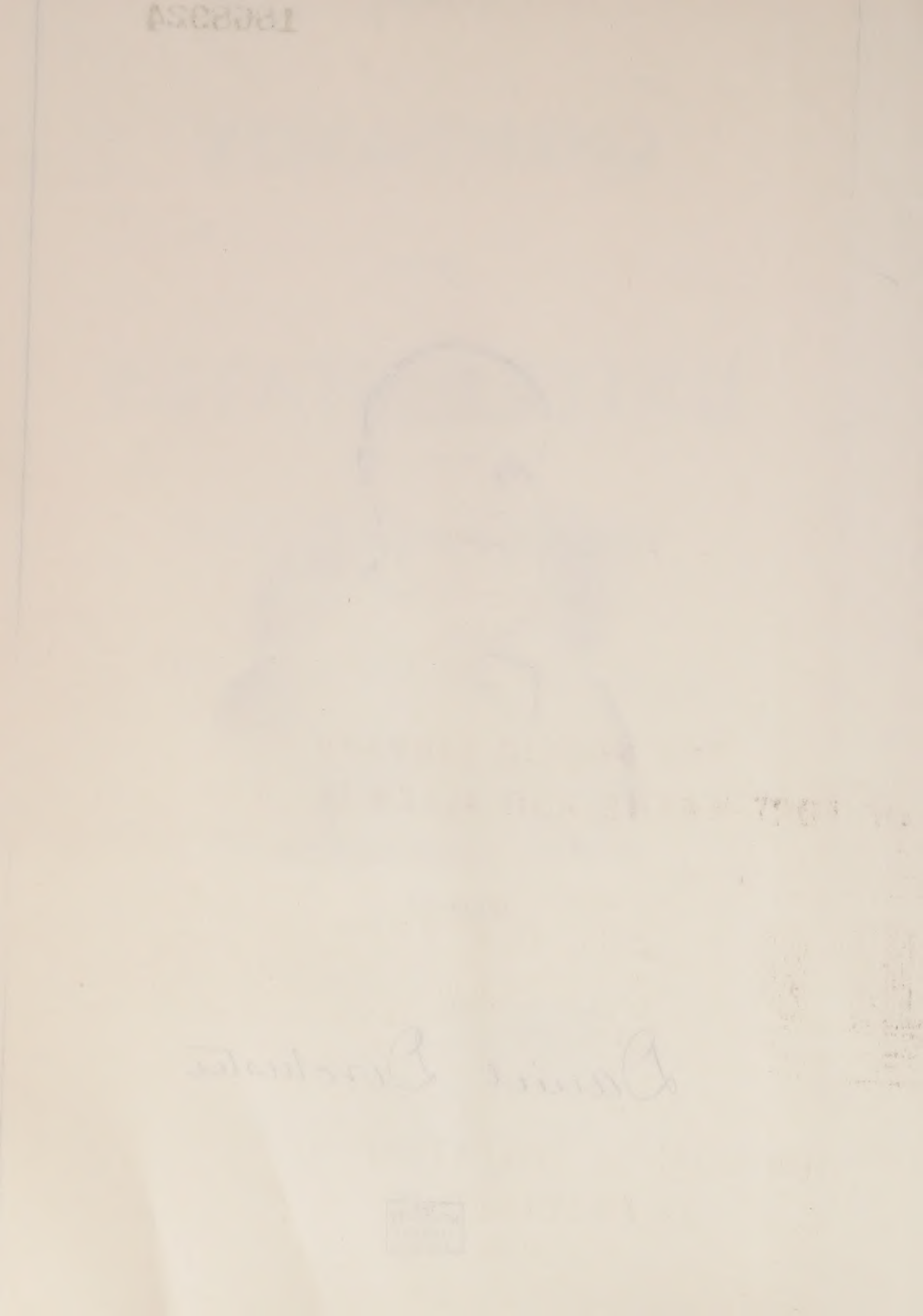

ERRATA.

Page 689 should read, "About one half of the Christian Endeavor Societies are Congregational."

Pp. 740, 741 should say, "Methodist Episcopal Church edifices, 20,263; total Methodist and kindred bodies, 40,321; aggregate of evangelical churches, 120,944."

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PREFACE.

THE genesis and purpose of this volume are easily told. It had a genuine spiritual conception, birth and growth.

Before the death of that eminent historian of *Religion in America*, Rev. Robert Baird, D.D., the undersigned held correspondence with him upon questions pertaining to the religious history and prospects of our country—the beginning of a series of inquiries resulting in this volume. For over a dozen years the subject was studied for the author's personal satisfaction, with no expectation of putting the results into printed pages. The mental exercises which led him to undertake the volume and the difficulties encountered in the task need not be here related. The work, sometimes intermitted for months and twice for several years, amid other heavy duties, though never out of thought, has constantly broadened and matured.

Believing that Christianity is best known and attested by its influence in the actual life of communities, not only have the religious statistics of the churches been studied, but also the moral and social phenomena, and the tidal movements and trend of the nation's life. These phenomena, sometimes subtle and latent, sometimes overt and out-bursting, sometimes vibratory, and sometimes complex, require the most careful discrimination in the work of interpreting, analyzing and classifying. Conscious that the historian cannot too carefully guard lest he discolor or distort by his lens, the work has been undertaken and prosecuted under conscientious convictions, in the hope that the best interests of Christianity may be subserved by it, and that it may prove helpful to the Christian ministry and to the public at large.

No attempt has been made to write the history of the various religious denominations, for the author did not so conceive his task. Taking a bird's-eye view of the field, and apprehending what are currently regarded as three great competing forces in the religious life of the nation—Protestantism, Romanism, and a variety of Divergent Elements—he adopted and has kept this classification throughout the volume.

As to the *Protestant* Churches, the beginning of each, the organic changes, schisms and reunions, and the great benevolent, illuminating and evangelizing agencies employed by them, have been sketched, and, for the most part, kept grouped together, either by express statements or by implication, avoiding so far as possible invidious comparisons, and seeking to do full justice to all. Very much matter relating to individual denominations was, from necessity, omitted. The *Roman Catholic* Church has been freely, fully and generously treated, eulogies have been expressed upon some of the earlier gifted and devoted emissaries, and a great amount of expensive and wearisome labor put forth in efforts to adequately represent the body in the later statistical tables. The *Divergent Elements*, existing, as they do, as drifts of sentiment only slightly organized, have required different treatment from either evangelical Protestantism or Romanism. The statistical exhibits of all the religious bodies are the best their own official "Minutes" or Year Books make possible. To go behind them would be unfair and impracticable. Newspaper statistics have been omitted almost entirely, because very liable to errata, and only under stern necessities have estimates been accepted and used.

Deeply sensible of the delicacy of an undertaking in which such diverse and multiform interests are involved, the author commends his work to the Christian indulgence of the public.

DANIEL DORCHESTER.

CHELSEA, MASS., *December* 1, 1887.

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I.

THE COLONIAL ERA.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS—UNDER ROMAN CATHOLIC AUSPICES.

The Spaniards in the South.

RELIGIOUS motives manifestly acted a conspicuous part in the earliest discoveries and settlements in America, though considerations of maritime enterprise and commercial advantage, not wanting from the first, soon directed and dominated the New World movements.

It is a striking but not unfamiliar fact that those portions of our national domain, the last to become integral parts of the United States, were the first upon which the efforts of the papacy were expended, and that in all of them, for many years, the Roman Catholic became the dominant and only faith. These, therefore, will first receive attention.

Columbus, Perez, and Isabella, a trinity of Roman Catholic devotees—a mariner, a monk, and a queen—under the solemn benediction of the Church, projected and achieved the discovery of the New World.

"Piety," says Prescott, "gave a peculiar coloring to Isabella's mind;" a remark not less true of Columbus, "the Christ-bearer," as his name (Christopher) signifies. Explorer though he was, and filled with enthusiastic conceptions of a new route to the East, opening up regions of untold wealth and splendor, he was also a deeply religious man and a diligent student of the Bible, especially of the prophecies, in whose fulfillment, through his cherished plans, he saw an easy communication established between the uttermost parts of the earth, and the entire human family brought under the influence of the "Holy Catholic Church." Believing that God had singled him out and set him apart for this work, he solemnly declared, "God made me a messenger of the new heavens and the new earth;" and the power and riches to accrue from his looked-for discoveries were, in anticipation, consecrated to the bringing of souls to

Christ, in the East as well as in the West, and even to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the infidel. Juan Perez, the prior at Palos, deeply interested in maritime subjects, and a former confessor to Isabella, exerted his priestly influence to forward the interests of Columbus at the court.

Starting from a deeply impressive service of the Holy Communion, in a temporary chapel on the shore of Palos, the adventurers broke the silence of ages over the trackless waters, with prayers and hymns to the Virgin Mary. The first sight of the New World was greeted with a *Gloria in excelsis*—"the first Catholic hymn whose swelling cadences were wafted to the shores of America;" and the first landing witnessed Columbus upon his knees, with tears of joy giving thanks to God and kissing the earth. Religious names, San Salvador, Santa Trinidata, Santa Maria, etc., were given to the first islands discovered.

On his second voyage Columbus was accompanied by the first band of missionaries, consisting of twelve priests and a vicar apostolic, who, at Isabella, on the Island of Hayti, consecrated the first chapel, on the feast of Epiphany, in the year 1494—*the date of the founding of the Roman Catholic Church in the New World.*

"Isabella the Catholic" took a deep interest in the welfare of the natives, "ordering," says Irving, "that great care should be taken of the religious instruction of the Indians; that they should be treated with the utmost kindness; and that Columbus should inflict signal punishment upon all Spaniards who should be guilty of outrage or injustice toward them."

It will not be questioned that the discovery of the New World was a maritime enterprise; but the religious auspices and inspiration under which it was conducted were Roman Catholic, then almost the only religious faith of Europe, and every-where blended with the civil power. The great Protestant reformation was waiting for its leader, a lad of only nine years, when the cross first touched the shores of San Salvador.

The success of Columbus aroused the spirit of enterprise and turned all minds to the West. In the fifty years following his first discovery, voyages of exploration were conducted by more than twenty adventurers, among whom were John and Sebastian Cabot, Gaspar and Miguel Cortereal, Vespucci, Ponce de Leon, Balboa, Cordova, D'Ayllon, Magellan, Verazzano, Gomez, Narvaez, Cartier, and De Soto, all acting under the patronage of Roman Catholic nations, and most of them carrying on their expeditions ecclesiastics of that faith.

Motives.

The motives actuating these explorers, Spanish, French, and Portuguese, despite national jealousies, were essentially alike, secular considerations largely predominating, sustained in most, if not in all of them, by a substratum of devotion to the Church of Rome. At first, gorgeous visions of the "far Cathay," where, for centuries, had reigned "a line of mighty monarchs of the race of Kublai Khan," of which Marco Polo had told fabulous, entrancing stories—a land redolent with aromatic spices, filled with birds of gayest plumage, and teeming with all manner of precious things which enrich kingdoms, and make states and princes powerful—furnished the inspiration for expensive, tedious and dangerous expeditions. Some Ophir or Aura Chersonesus of the Indies, filled with magnificent cities and crowded with commerce, flitted like bewitching lights before their minds. This fair land of the East they believed lay not far to the westward. When, after a few years of exploration, the discovery of a vast western continent, every-where presenting itself as an unreclaimed wilderness, peopled with naked savages, made it apparent that they had not found the short passage to the much-coveted East, their feverish imaginations were still haunted with glowing panoramas of tropical beauty, alluvial fertility, and inexhaustible riches. Under this alluring impulse, European sovereigns vied with each other to share the glory, wealth, and extended dominion of new discoveries. Voyagers were sent forth in quest of unknown islands and continents, full of gold and heathen men, or to find some north-west passage to the Indies, now further than ever from their insatiable grasp; while other expeditions advanced beyond the unpromising coast-line of the continent into the remote interior, attracted by stories of rich and powerful kingdoms far to the westward.

Explorers.

Amerigo Vespucci, in early life an agent for a commercial house in Seville and a familiar acquaintance of Columbus, whose story of the newly-opened regions he had heard, longing to share in the glory and profit of the New World enterprises, sails upon extensive expeditions which identify his name with an immense continent.

Ponce de Leon, whose youth has been spent in the military service of Spain, sharing in the wild predatory exploits of the wars of Granada, a fellow-voyager of Columbus in his second expedition, the subjugator and governor of Porto Rico, when trembling under the decrepitude of age, beguiled by marvelous stories of a land in

the deep recesses of whose forests was a hidden fountain of perpetual youth, fits out an expedition, discovers, names and overruns the flower-clad peninsula of Florida.

"The wise and prudent Coronado," inspired by the flaming reports by Mexican priests of cities far to the north larger and richer than those of Mexico, parting from his lovely wife and vast possessions, leads forth a band of chivalrous adventurers to hunt in the wilderness for "the seven great cities of Cibola" and the fabled wealth of their mighty princes.

Lucas Vasquez D'Ayllon, setting out in quest of a sacred river with healing waters akin to those of the fabled fountain of youth, and Stephen Gomez, in search of a passage to the romantic Cathay, supposed to be reached through some of the broad estuaries to the northward of Florida, return with cargoes of Indians doomed to servitude.

Pamphilo de Narvaez leads a formidable expedition in search of gold to replenish the coffers of Charles V.

And Hernando De Soto, the favorite companion of Pizarro, in Peru, returning to Spain with the opulence of South American conquests, blinded by avarice and an ambition to achieve new dominions, where he shall no longer be a subaltern, leads forth the *élite* of Spain and Portugal in a splendidly equipped but singularly ill-fated expedition for the subjugation of magnificent cities with richly endowed temples, supposed to be concealed in the interior wilds of Florida and Mississippi.

However much inspired by cupidity and ambition, it should not be forgotten that patronizing princes and adventurers alike performed their parts in close subordination to the Church. So complete was the ecclesiastical ascendency, in that age, that each sovereign felt bound to promote its cause—an element serving both as an impulse and a check. Expeditions were fitted out under impressive ecclesiastical benedictions; and adventurers, soldiers and priests landed together, taking possession of new countries in the name of "THE CHURCH—*the Queen and Sovereign of the World.*"

However strange the characters of many of these leaders, they seem not to have vacillated in their devotion to the Papal Church.

Alonzo de Ojeda, a companion of Columbus in his first expedition, subsequently sailing under the patronage of the Bishop of Fouseca, with stolen charts of the great navigator, explores the Isthmus of Darien, "his track every-where marked," says Bryant, "with lust for slaves, for women and for gold," but often pausing in those trackless wilds to worship the picture of the Madonna, to whom he was enthusiastically devoted.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a Spanish freebooter, though "pitilessly cruel, unscrupulous and dissolute," is "at the same time zealous for the Church." Fighting his way through the hostile Indians of Darien, "he hews them in pieces," says the quaint Peter Martyr, "as the butchers doe fleshe in the shambles; from one an arme, from another a legge, from him a buttocke, from another a shoulder, and from some the necke from the bodie, at one stroke;" but when, at last, from the top of a high mountain, he first beholds the vast Pacific, sparkling and glorious in the sunlight, overcome with mingled emotions of ecstasy and devotion, he prostrates himself upon the earth, giving thanks to God that it has "pleased his Divine Majesty to reserve for him on that day so great a thing," and praying for success in subduing those lands "to the glory of his holy name and the increase of his holy religion."

De Soto, in whom "avarice rendered ferocious" is singularly united with religious zeal, in his great expedition from Florida to the Mississippi valley, while reveling in scenes of robbery, carnage and lust, massacring and "leading Indians in chains" with "iron collars around their necks," marches under the insignia of the cross, is attended by ecclesiastics, scrupulously maintains the solemn processions and festivals of the Church, and even himself explains the significance of the cross, and discourses homilies on the atonement to assembled natives.

The cross, as a symbol of papal supremacy, was borne by Magellan in his world-wide voyages, and planted on the southernmost cape of South America; by Fernando and Cortez, who subjugated the land of the Montezumas and made it obedient to the Roman Catholic faith; by Cartier down the great river of Canada, to which he gave the name of a celebrated saint; and by Champlain, a devoted son of the Church, who established its ecclesiastical supremacy in all the northern region.

Mexico.

The first portion of North America subjugated and held by Europeans was Mexico. The thrilling story need not be here related. The Aztec priesthood was overthrown and the ecclesiastics of Rome were installed in their stead. Thenceforth, Mexico became a burning focus of the Roman Catholic Church, from which colonies and missions penetrated northward within the present limits of our national domain. These Spanish missions, radiating from Mexico, extended across the continent from Florida to California. A little later, we shall see Quebec also becoming a papal focus, and

radiating her missions along the valley of the St. Lawrence to the great lakes, down the Mississippi, till they meet those on the Gulf, and sagaciously plotting and attempting the conquest of the vast region inclosed.

These missionary movements present many scenes of unexcelled devotion, invincible purpose, patient toil, and sublime martyrdom. Unappalled by the New World barbarians, the emissaries of the papacy hasted to bring them to her embrace. Her wonderful religious orders, Franciscan, Augustinian, Dominican, and Carmelite, with organizations eminently adapted to missionary work, were already extended through many countries; and in the same epoch with the American discoveries the new order of Jesuits, expressly intended for missionary labors, arose, and hastened to achieve its earliest triumphs on the new continent. However notorious this celebrated order subsequently became, it must be allowed that the record of its earliest missionary toils in North America abounds in thrilling incidents and examples of rare devotion.

"Habituated to self-denial, a solitary man, with no earthly tie to make life dearer than the call of duty, a man who had renounced not only the luxuries but most of the comforts of life, the Catholic missionary, crucifix in hand, bearing a few articles of church service, hastened to rear the cross amid the scenes of idolatrous worship. . . . Sometimes a mission rose by royal command, and a missionary, supplied or supported from the public treasury like a soldier, proceeded to his post. Sometimes the settlers collected yearly means to enable the frugal priest to live and obtain what he needed for his ministry; but most generally the princes, nobles, and people of Europe raised funds for each particular mission, which enabled procurators of religious orders, in seaport towns, to send across the Atlantic missionaries, books, church articles, and often objects of agricultural or mechanical industry for the Indian tribes." *

Florida.

Florida, from its first discovery to the founding of St. Augustine (1565), was the scene of numerous unsuccessful colonies and missions. Regarded as "a paragon of wealth and beauty," expeditions were fitted out to explore and settle it, soldiers and priests accompanying the adventurers. The savage inhabitants so effectually resisted their invaders that most of the latter perished. In 1526, Pamphilo de Narvaez, with the title of Governor, and accompanied by a large

* John G. Shea, *Catholic Missions in the United States*, p. 29.

force of soldiers, undertook the conquest of the country. Franciscan priests, under Father Juarez, one of the first of that order who entered Mexico, attended the expedition. With great religious solemnities, they took possession of the Bay of Pensacola. Scenes of exacting toil and terrible suffering followed; disease and savage hostilities decimated their numbers, and all but four perished.

In 1547, Father Louis Cancer, a Dominican priest, hoping to win new conquests for the cross by "subduing unarmed and in peace a country that had baffled the hardiest military expeditions," projected the spiritual conquest of this region. Drawing into his plan "the great Labasas," Bishop of Chiapas, a fellow-passenger to Spain, he gained the full approbation of Philip II. for "the peaceful and bloodless conquest of Florida." With three other Dominican fathers Cancer landed upon the coast, and by presents and other friendly means sought to win the favor of the natives. But kindly acts failed to disarm their ferocity, and within a few days two of the missionaries were massacred, and the others immediately withdrew from the field. In 1553, five Dominican priests belonging to a large expedition bound for Mexico were wrecked upon the coast, and only one survived to reach Mexico. In 1559, Don Tristan De Luna, a scion of the nobility of Arragon, with a fleet of thirteen vessels and fifteen hundred men, accompanied by families and six Dominican missionaries, were sent to subdue and colonize the peninsula. After a series of terrible calamities and sufferings, extending through several years, the field was abandoned.

In 1565, Pedro Melendez, the most distinguished naval commander of his day, whose banner had long floated over the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the North Sea, and who at his own expense had served his royal master against the Corsairs and the French, after a series of humiliating reverses was rewarded by Philip II. with the grant of Florida, on two conditions: twelve Franciscans and four Jesuits were to be carried as missionaries, and the Huguenot colony under Ribault, on St. John's River, was to be dispersed. "Melendez himself," says Bryant,* "was a bigot who could conceive no better manifestation of love to God than cruelty to man, when man was heretical." Fitting out his expedition with alacrity, he sailed with thirty-four vessels, two thousand six hundred and forty-six men, eleven Franciscans, one father of the order of Mercy, one secular priest, and eight Jesuits. His first work was to extirpate the Huguenots, which he effected with the most diabolical and mer-

* *Popular History of the United States*, Vol. I., p. 206.

ciless slaughter. The details* are too sickening to be related here—the first Protestant blood shed on American soil.

St. Augustine was immediately founded, and a small colony, under the spiritual direction of the Jesuits, was also planted on the Chesapeake, the latter having, however, only a brief existence. Among the Indians in the vicinity of St. Augustine, missions were undertaken, the Jesuits leading, and Father John Baptiste Segura soon appeared as Vice Provincial, full of zeal and plans for action. The instruction of the natives in Christian principles was undertaken, and a school for Indian children was established at Havana, while Father Segura and others made their novitiate in missionary life amid the hardships of the wilderness, in the provinces of Carlos, Tequestra, and as far as Tocobago on the Appalachee Bay. Grounds were selected, agricultural impliments obtained, and commodious houses erected; but the natural fickleness of the Indians soon prevailed, the village was abandoned, and the wild life in the woods was resumed. The Jesuits followed, patiently instructing, and baptizing a few. Calling a council of the chiefs, they proposed that the tribe should renounce the devil and embrace the new faith. A scene of confusion followed. "The devil is the best fellow in the world," was the unanimous cry; "we adore him; he makes men valiant." The discomfited missionaries abandoned them. In 1572 the Jesuits left Florida for the more inviting field of Mexico; three priests and four lay brothers having fallen victims to the perfidy of the natives, and one sinking under the exactions of his arduous toils.

In 1573, a new band of Franciscans landed at St. Augustine, but no missions beyond the immediate vicinity of the colony were undertaken until after 1592, when a re-enforcement of twelve Franciscans arrived and efforts for the conversion of the Indians were resumed. Mission stations were established, an abridgment of Christian doctrine was drawn up and printed in the Indian dialect, and villages of neophytes were formed; but suddenly a storm arose which turned the smiling garden into a howling wilderness. Missionaries were massacred and the neophytes were scattered. The work was resumed in 1601. In the next twenty years about fifty Franciscans labored in Florida, and no less than twenty convents or religious houses were established. Subsequently missions were founded among the Appalachees and Creeks, in West Florida and Georgia, and in 1643 a Cherokee chief received baptism. The

* A Roman Catholic writer, Mr. John G. Shea, says: "In no point of view can his conduct be justified." *History of Indian Missions*, p. 55.

founding of Pensacola, in 1693, gave a new impulse to missions in that region, and the Spanish colony, though small, was surrounded by Indian tribes most of whom received the Roman Catholic faith. Villages of converts, directed by Franciscans, existed along the the Apalachicola, Flint, and other rivers.

New Mexico

was the next scene of missionary labor within the recently adopted territory of the United States. Coronado's famous expedition from Mexico, in 1542, in search of a fancied realm of wealth and splendor, traversed the territory of New Mexico even to the borders of Colorado. After a long and unsuccessful search, wearied of journeyings and disappointed in discoveries, he turned his course homeward; but, when not far from the present site of Santa Fé, the two Franciscans, Father Padilla and Brother John of the Cross, who had accompanied the expedition, remained behind to establish a mission. Turning his steps to Quivira, Father Padilla labored assiduously among that fierce people, but with no success. Hearing of a tribe more docile in character, he started for their town, but on his way he fell pierced with a shower of arrows, sealing his mission with his blood. Of his companion no tidings were ever received. Only the previous year, the brilliant, cruel, and unfortunate expedition of De Soto had penetrated several hundred miles west of the Mississippi, into the territory above the Red River.

Coronado's unfavorable reports discouraged further secular exploration of this region for a long time. Meanwhile the Indian missions of Mexico steadily advanced toward the north, and there dwelt in the valley of St. Bartholomew a pious lay brother, Augustine Rodriguez, who had grown gray amid the austerities of the Franciscan missions. Hearing of populous countries far to the north, unvisited by Spaniards, he burned with desire to proclaim to them the Gospel. A mission was projected; Father Francis Lopez was appointed Superior, and the learned and scientific Father John de Santa Maria and Brother Rodriguez accompanied him, escorted by ten soldiers and six Mexican Indians. Reaching the country of the Teheras, the soldiers, seeing seven hundred weary miles behind them, refused to advance further. Honor, pride, patriotism, and religion were appealed to in vain. They abandoned the missionaries to their fate. A mission was commenced among a people dressed in cotton mantles and living in houses, unlike the wild Indians of the plains. Father Maria was sent back to Mexico for

auxiliaries, but while asleep by the wayside he was surprised and killed. In an attack upon the town, soon after, Father Lopez fell beneath the shafts of the assailants, and Brother Rodriguez was left alone until, weary of his presence and reproaches, the natives silenced his voice in death.

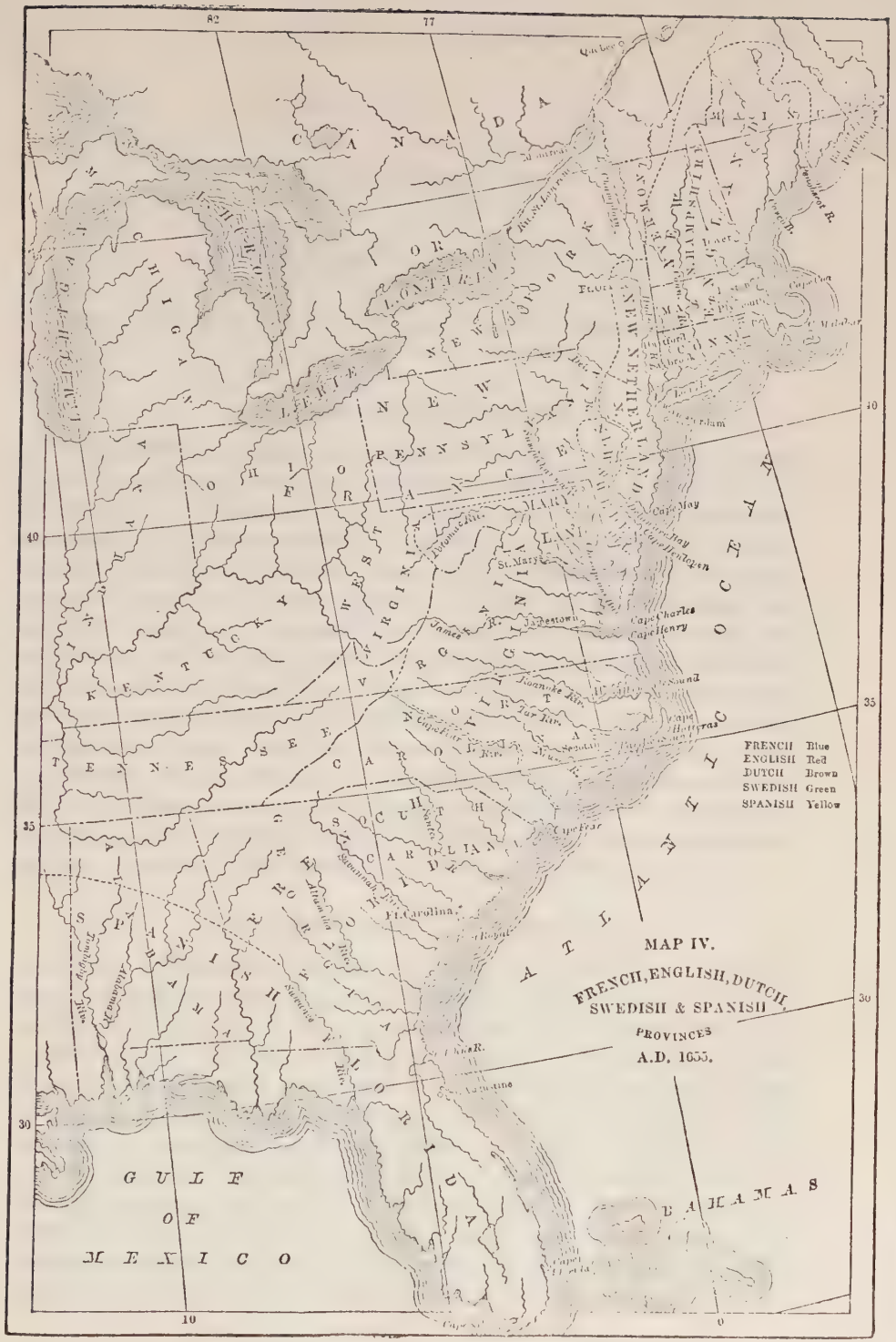
Don Antonio de Espejo, a rich, brave, and pious man, set out the following year to explore the head-waters of the Rio Grande. He named the country New Mexico, and founded the city of Santa Fé, the second oldest city within the present limits of the United States—twenty-five years older than Jamestown, Va. The Franciscans immediately undertook the task of converting the natives—a work slow, difficult, and attended with dangers. The blood of the missionaries flowed freely; their number was recruited; the work went slowly on; the dusky savages yielded; whole tribes accepted the faith; and, in the year 1608, eight thousand Indians had received baptism in New Mexico. In 1626 the twenty-seventh mission was established.

Texas.

Father de Olmos, a Franciscan, visited this region in 1546, and founded a mission among the wild tribes of the Chechimecas. Gathering around this solitary envoy, they listened in peace to his message. He studied their language and made translations into it; but no further data have been transmitted to us concerning this "humble conquest of Olmos' hardy zeal," and a long interval with no records of missions followed.

California.

A series of explorers visited California at a very early date: Cortez, who is supposed to have reached its extreme southern part; Cobilla, who landed at San Diego in 1542; Sir Francis Drake, who sailed along its coast in one of his expeditions, and spent the summer of 1579 in the Bay of San Francisco; and Viscaino, who explored the coast in 1596, and again in 1601, proceeding as far as Monterey, where the Carmelite Friars who accompanied his expedition erected a rustic altar beneath the branches of a spreading oak and celebrated the mysteries of the papal faith.


FRENCH Blue
ENGLISH Red
DUTCH Brown
SWEDISH Green
SPANISH Yellow
MAP IV.
FRENCH, ENGLISH, DUTCH, SWEDISH & SPANISH PROVINCES
A.D. 1655.
CANADA
NEW FRANCE
NEW NETHERLAND
NEW ENGLAND
VIRGINIA
FLORIDA
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAHAMAS
Quebec
Montreal
Plymouth
Boston
Hartford
New Haven
New Amsterdam
Albany
Philadelphia
Jamestown
Cape Charles
Cape Henry
Cape May
Cape Hatteras
Roanoke
Port Royal
Charleston
Cape Fear
Augustine
St. Mary's
Delaware R.
James R.
Potomac R.
Susquehanna R.
Connecticut R.
Hudson R.
Mississippi R.
Alabama R.
Tombigbee R.
Apalachicola R.
Rio Grande
Rio Bravo
Rio Panuco
Rio Tabasco
Rio Grijalva
Rio Coatzacoalcos
Rio Alvarado
Rio Nautla
Rio Tuxpan
Rio Tecolutla
Rio Soto la Marina
Rio Tamesi
Rio Jamapa
Rio Blanco
Rio Papaloapan
Rio Goatzacoalcos
Rio Tonala
Rio Tehuantepec
Rio Chiapa
Rio Usumacinta
Rio Lacandon
Rio Polochic
Rio Motagua
Rio Ulua
Rio Aguan
Rio Segovia
Rio Chagres
Rio Atrato
Rio Magdalena
Rio Sinu
Rio Hacha
Rio Orinoco
Rio Negro
Rio Amazon
Rio Tocantins
Rio Parnahiba
Rio Gila
Rio Colorado
Rio Sonora
Rio Yaqui
Rio Mayo
Rio Fuerte
Rio Sinaloa
Rio Culiacan
Rio Presidio
Rio Lerma
Rio Santiago
Rio Grande de Santiago
Rio Balsas
Rio Papagayo
Rio Mexcala
Rio Zacatula
Rio Coyuca
Rio Tehuantepec
Rio Chiapa
Rio Usumacinta
Rio Lacandon
Rio Polochic
Rio Motagua
Rio Ulua
Rio Aguan
Rio Segovia
Rio Chagres
Rio Atrato
Rio Magdalena
Rio Sinu
Rio Hacha
Rio Orinoco
Rio Negro
Rio Amazon
Rio Tocantins
Rio Parnahiba
Rio Gila
Rio Colorado
Rio Sonora
Rio Yaqui
Rio Mayo
Rio Fuerte
Rio Sinaloa
Rio Culiacan
Rio Presidio
Rio Lerma
Rio Santiago
Rio Grande de Santiago
Rio Balsas
Rio Papagayo
Rio Mexcala
Rio Zacatula
Rio Coyuca
82
77
40
35
30
10
0

CHAPTER II.

PROTESTANT BEGINNINGS.

SEC. 1. Discoveries. SEC. 2. Settlements. SEC. 3. Churches Organized.

Section 1.—Discoveries.

COLUMBUS and his successors in discovery accomplished great Providential purposes, opening up pathways for nations and imparting new impulses of progress to the world. The amazing foresight, indomitable purpose, superhuman energy and lofty heroism of Columbus verify his personal conviction that he was "the called of God" to a great mission. A spirit so elevated and far-seeing, so patient and enduring, so potent to resist and wear out opposition, so fruitful in expedients and creative of resources, clearly evinces a divine co-working. But he had a very feeble conception of the grand results of his wonderful career and the new life he imparted to the age. Nor was it necessary, in order to the part he performed, that he should see the far-reaching consequences. He was not chosen to be the founder of a perishable empire nor to wear the diadem of a fading royalty. But he fulfilled his mission and gained the crown of enduring immortality—the true saintship.

The Successors of Columbus

were men of inferior character, in whom, says Bancroft, "avarice and religious zeal were singularly blended; and the heroes of Spain sailed to the West as if they were bound on a new crusade for which infinite wealth was to reward their piety." The visions of vast riches which the newly-discovered country inspired stimulated in the breasts of Europeans the powerful passions of ambition and avarice, and eager adventurers were sent forth with ships and stores to the new El Dorado. Numerous disasters and disappointments attended the early navigators, but countries were subdued and vast sums of gold and silver transmitted to Europe. These singularly mixed motives were potential factors, mysteriously working under a superintending Providence, by which willing agents were strangely led on,

though often effectually checked and frustrated. What striking evidences do those times afford of a superior power controlling the movements of men! What alluring openings and also inscrutable reservations of Providence! In this higher light how weak and narrow the schemes of human cupidity and ambition! While thirst for gold, lust of power and love of daring adventure served the Providential purpose of opening the New World to papal Europe, and Roman Catholic colonies were successfully planted in some portions, the territory originally comprised within the United States was mysteriously guarded and reserved for another—a prepared people.

The Upheaval in Europe.

Under the great Protestant Reformation in Northern Europe a new social order, invested with new ideas and an improved civilization, was developed, and soon thrust forth into the central portion of the American Continent—a fitting theater for the sublime achievements of the advancing age. Speaking of the Spaniards, Bryant says:* "Fortunately for the progress of the human race and the future history of North America, all their efforts to gain a permanent foothold north of the Gulf of Mexico were in the main unsuccessful."

English enterprise followed, but with hesitating steps. English voyagers sailed along the main coast of North America as early as 1497, but no conquests or settlements were attempted. Distracted by civil disturbances, agitated by the Reformation and crippled by the poverty of her people, England was prevented from taking advantage of her first discoveries.

One hundred and ten years passed from the time that Cabot, under the authority of Great Britain, sailed along the coast of North America until the first permanent English settlement. It was the most important century in modern history, noted for that mighty upheaval styled "The Reformation," which powerfully shook the continent of Europe and ushered in the brighter and wonderfully expanding phases of progress which have gladdened our day and prophesy of better days to come. Spain and Portugal, engrossed with avaricious schemes, only slightly affected by this great religious movement, remained in passive acquiescence to mediæval ideas and absolutism, sacrificing intellectual and religious freedom upon the altar of lust and power. Not so with the more northerly nations. In Germany, Switzerland, France, England and Scotland, a great

* *History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 173.

emancipation was going on, destined to bring in its train the higher and more enduring resources—intelligence, freedom of conscience, commercial enterprise, the triumphs of inventive genius, supremacy in the world of thought and social and religious elevation. In the pangs of the Reformation a new people was begotten, with new ideas, invested with loftier prerogatives and aims, and intended by Providence to found in the New World a great Christian Republic, one of the mightiest agencies in human progress.

English Voyagers.

Secular motives were not wanting in the early English discoverers in North America. England's conflicts with Spain had developed her navy and marine. To equip and command a ship had attractions for ambitious courtiers, and the capture of a richly-laden Spanish vessel from the New World amply repaid the cost of an expedition. To this was soon added the alluring hope of making profitable foreign settlements. The rich products of America glittered before the vision of ardent Englishmen, who, on easy terms of paying one fifth part of the precious metals to the queen, eagerly exchanged a patrimony for a fleet in the hope of golden acres across the Atlantic. In 1576–78 Captain Martin Frobisher made several unsuccessful voyages to the frozen shores of North America, hoping to bring home large stores of gold. Quaint stories * are told of the expectations, delusions, and sufferings of the voyagers; of "cruel stormes of snow and haile, great islands of yce, and mighty deere that seemed to be mankind," of finding "spiders which are signs of great store of gold," of streams beneath the frozen surface, "by which the earth within is kept warmer and springs have their recourse, which is the only nutriment of gold and minerals," and cargoes of worthless "black ore" carried to England. These "painfull mariners and poore miners were faine to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful yce," and endure "the brunt of so great and extreme dangers, praysing God, and altogether, upon their knees, giving Him due, humble, and heartie thanks." In those inhospitable solitudes the Lord's Supper was celebrated, "the first signe, seale and confirmation of Christ's name, death and passion ever knowen in those quarters."

From 1579–1585 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a courtier of Queen Elizabeth, "with nobler aims than finding ore of gold," made several attempts at discovery and colonization. "To prosecute

* Hackluyt, Vol. III, pp. 63–68, 87, 88.

effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys for the crown and people of England," "the honor of God, the compassion of poore infidels captivated by the Devil," and "the reliefe of sundry people within this distressed realme," are the elevated motives under which Sir Humphrey went forth, authorized by letters patent, "to discover all such heathen lands as were not acutally possessed by any Christian prince or people." Sir Walter Raleigh followed, but both were unsuccessful, and as late as the year 1600 the American continent was wholly untenanted by the Anglo-Saxon race. At that time Roman Catholic countries had planted permanent colonies from Florida and New Mexico to Chili.

A tabulated view of the discoveries and settlements in the New Hemisphere, from 1492 to 1733, will be helpful.

PERIOD I.—108 Years. Settlements from countries not affected by the Reformation, made either before or during its progress.				PERIOD II.—133 Years. Settlements from countries pervaded by the Reformation.			
DATES	DISCOVERIES.	PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS.	RELIGIOUS FAITH.	DATES	PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS.	RELIGIOUS FAITH.	
1492	San Salvador	West India Islands.	Roman Catholic	1605	Nova Scotia	Protestant.	
1493	Porto Rico			1607	Virginia	Protestant.	
1494	Jamaica			1608	Quebec	Roman Catholic.	
1497	The main coast of North America			1614	New York	Protestant.	
1498	South America			1620	Massachusetts	Protestant.	
1500	The Amazon			1623	New Hampshire	Protestant.	
1502	Bay of Honduras			1626	Maine	Protestant.	
1510		Isthmus of Darien	Roman Catholic	1664	New Jersey	Protestant.	
1512	Florida			1631	Delaware	Protestant.	
1517	Yucatan			1633	Connecticut	Protestant.	
1518	Southern Mexico			1634	Maryland	Roman Catholic.	
1520		Mexico	Roman Catholic	1636	Rhode Island	Protestant.	
1525		Peru	Roman Catholic	1650	North Carolina	Protestant.	
1537		Chili	Roman Catholic	1670	South Carolina	Protestant.	
1545		Bolivia	Roman Catholic	1682	Pennsylvania	Protestant.	
1565		Florida	Roman Catholic	1700	Louisiana	Roman Catholic.	
1600				1733	Georgia	Protestant.	

Stirring Events in Europe.

The Protestant colonies within the original limits of the United States were chiefly founded amid the stirring events of the first half of the seventeenth century. The long and prosperous reign of Queen

Elizabeth closed four years before the settlement of Virginia; and under her successor the crowns of England and Scotland were united, James IV. of Scotland becoming James I. of England. Under Elizabeth's reign the Puritan agitation became a distinctive movement, and it grew and expanded under James and Charles I. Jamestown was settled in 1607; Plymouth in 1620. Charles I. ascended the throne in 1625. Buckingham was assassinated in 1627. Laud, the champion of prelacy, was tightening his clutch upon the Puritan throat, a reaction from which, a few years later, took off his head. Cromwell was born with the century, and in 1628 entered Parliament. In 1636 John Hampden uttered his bold protest against exorbitant impositions upon mariners. In 1642 the fomentations that drove many colonists to America culminated in a terrible civil outbreak at home. Under the administration of Richelieu, France was recovering from her disordered state and reviving her financial and political strength. The Thirty Years' War was raging in Europe, Protestantism and Catholicism being the sub-issues. Gustavus Adolphus's grand career dates in the same period, and the victory of Protestant Germany at Lutzen. The glory of Spain was declining, and the emancipated Netherlands were growing into the dignity of "the Dutch Republic." Italy was turbid. The Crescent was waning and its military power was eclipsed. Cortez, Pizarro and Almagro had passed away during the previous century.

Section 2.—Protestant Settlements.

French Protestants were vainly trying to establish colonies in Brazil while the Puritans were struggling with Elizabeth. Then followed the planters to Virginia; next came, in the same year, the Pilgrims to Plymouth Rock and a cargo of slaves to Jamestown, Virginia; and after them, in rapid succession, the Puritans to Salem, Boston and Dorchester. At the time Boston was settled "William Shakespeare and the author of Don Quixote had been dead seven years; John Bunyan was an infant of two years; Pascal was but seven; La Fontaine nine; Bossuet but three. Tillotson and Barrow were born that very year and Dryden a year later. Jeremy Taylor, Cudworth, La Rochefoucauld were in their teens; Cowley and Molière had not reached theirs. Spinoza was born two years, Boileau six years and Racine nine years after. John Milton, Thomas Fuller, the church historian, Lord Clarendon, the author of the history of the English rebellion, were each twenty-two years of age; and

Hobbes, Des Cartes, Grotius, Lord Herbert, Isaac Walton, Massinger, Selden, Archbishop Usher, Guido and Van Dyke, were all in the prime of life. Ben Jonson was still living, and so was Robert Burton. Bacon had been dead but four years. The English Bible received official recognition only nineteen years before." *

Such was the period, its actors and events, amid which the early Protestant settlements in the United States were effected. No previous century for long ages could parallel it.

Three Parties in England.

The earliest English settlers in America comprised three religious parties which had long been at sore variance with each other in the mother country, but all of whom agreed in their opposition to the Church of Rome. The prelatical party who founded Jamestown, Virginia, exalted the order and functions of the clergy, investing them with hierarchical prerogatives and retaining ancient forms and ceremonies, hoping thereby to conciliate the papists to the Protestant faith. The Puritans bore an implacable hatred to the Roman Catholic Church, and contended that the work of the Reformation was left half done so long as any of the forms of the Romish Church were retained in the Church of England. They rejected every ceremony and vestment not clearly enjoined in the Word of God. The surplice and square cap they regarded as the livery of superstition, and the decisions and prerogatives of the priesthood, the king and the parliament, in religious matters, as the setting up of human authority above the Divine Word. But both parties adhered to the Church of England, the latter in the hope of purifying it. Seeing its evils they nevertheless acknowledged the value of the Church and hoped to reform it. They, therefore, remained in it. The third party was the Separatists, or Independents, who denounced the Church of England as an idolatrous institution, false to the truth and to Christianity, and fit only to be destroyed. They, therefore, separated from it.

Thus the struggle went on through Elizabeth's reign. The accession of King James to the throne at first gave new hopes to the reformers; but they were not long cherished. He declared, "I will have no liberty as to ceremonies; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion, in substance and ceremony." Nor would he allow contradiction. In 1604 three hundred Puritan and Separatist ministers were silenced, imprisoned, or exiled. But their principles

* Rev. S. J. Barrows, D.D., at the Quarter Millennial of the first church in Dorchester, Mass.

kept spreading. After severe trials and delays a company of Separatists, self-exiled, reached Holland, whence, after twelve years, seeing no hope for them in England, they sailed in the *Mayflower* for America, and landed on Plymouth Rock, December 22, 1620. Still the contest went on in England, until companies of Puritans, in 1628–1630, etc., embarked for New England and founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The former came as Separatists, Independents, bringing the first Congregational Church to the New World. The latter still claimed to be Puritans, avowing that they were not Separatists,* but continued to adhere to the Church of England, though discarding many of her ceremonies and her prelatical assumptions. In a few years, however, they too became Separatists, or Independents.

The Founders of New England.

Within twenty years from the planting of the Plymouth Colony all the other chief colonies in New England were founded, their governments organized, and the Atlantic coast, from the Kennebec River almost to the Hudson, was marked by various settlements. Such were the founders of New England. They were iconoclasts, reformers, in Church and State, men of strong religious convictions. To them the Bible was every thing; the source of religious principles, the basis of civil law, the supreme authority in matters of common life. Numbering many men of great learning who had been educated at the English universities, they gave great prominence to classical education, and established schools, seminaries and colleges. They were men of self-denying, abstemious and industrious habits. Far in advance of their times in respect to integrity of conscience, they were nevertheless very defective in their views of toleration; but they were eminently religious, with high conceptions of the duty of living for God and advancing his kingdom in the world. "In coming to this new continent they were influenced by a double hope: the enlargement of Christ's kingdom by the conversion of heathen tribes, and the founding of an empire for their own children in which his religion should gloriously prevail."

The fathers of New England were no mean men. John Cotton, John Wilson, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepherd, Governor Winthrop, Dunstan and Chauncy, associates or correspondents of Milton, Bunyan, Lightfoot, Selden, Baxter, etc., are names which can never be obscured in history. They have left a deep and lasting impress upon New England.

* Cotton Mather, Book I, Chap. iii.

The Founders of the Southern Colonies.

Widely different in character were the early colonists of the Southern from those of the Northern States. It has been said, if New England may be regarded as colonized by the Anglo-Saxon race, with its simple manners, more equal institutions, and love of liberty, the South was colonized by men very Norman in blood, aristocratic in feeling and spirit, and with superior dignity of demeanor and elegance of manners. If New England was the favorite asylum of the Puritan "Roundhead," the South became, in its turn, the retreat of the "Cavalier," upon the joint subversion of the altar and the throne in his native land. And if the religion of the one was strict, serious, in the regard of its enemies unfriendly to innocent amusements, and even morose, the other was the religion of the court and of fashionable life, and did not require so uncompromising a resistance to "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life."

The Virginia Colony was a Christian colony in intent and in fact. The charter required the maintenance of religious worship; boroughs were erected into parishes, with glebes and other provisions for the clergy. The assembly and the governor were urged to civilize the natives and bring them under the influence of the Gospel, and Indian children were educated. The Proprietaries of North and South Carolina were not wanting in high professions of zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, but it was left for later settlers to practically illustrate the purpose. Varied in origin, the number of those interested in promoting religious ends soon increased. "The good Oglethorpe, one of the finest specimens of a Christian gentleman of the cavalier school," led over a mixed people to settle upon the banks of the Savannah—poor debtors from English prisons, with godly Moravians from Germany, and brave Highlanders from Scotland.

The Settlers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, etc.

"The spirit of the age was present when the foundations of New York were laid. Every great European event affected the fortunes of America. Did a State prosper—it sought an increase of wealth by plantations in the West. Was a sect persecuted—it escaped to the New World. The Reformation, followed by collisions between English Dissenters and the Anglican Hierarchy, colonized New England. The Reformation, emancipating the United Provinces, led to European settlements on the Hudson. The Netherlands

divide with England the glory of having planted the first colonies in the United States; they also divide the glory of having set the example of perfect freedom. If England gave our fathers the idea of popular representation, Holland originated for them the principle of federal union." *

In the year 1609 the long conflict of Holland with Spain was suspended at the suggestion of Philip III., a confession on the part of Spain that she could no longer hope to successfully contest the supremacy of Holland, and a practical establishment of the independence of the United Netherlands. In the very same year that Holland took her position among the nations as a free, self-governing republic, Henry Hudson appeared at Manhattan Island and took possession of the region from the capes of Delaware to Canada, which he styled New Netherlands. The first occupancy was trading stations by the merchants of Amsterdam, who quickly perceived its admirable adaptation as a center for trade and commerce. First, the New Netherlands Company, in 1614, then the West India Company, in 1621, held the situation, the latter purchasing the island of the Indians. The West India Company appointed its governors, and public affairs were conducted by Dutch men on Dutch principles.

Though trade was the prime object with the first settlers at Manhattan, colonization soon became the ruling motive. Bold and enterprising were the first colonists, and intent upon the acquisition of wealth, but, having been educated in the National Dutch Church, they were much attached to it, and adopted early measures to establish religious worship in their new home. Although the Dutch came to Manhattan in troublous times, they were not fugitives from papal persecution, as were the Huguenots, or from Protestant persecution, as were the Puritans. They belonged to the ruling party in the mother country, and brought with them the established Church order and the Calvinistic creed. These "contra-remonstrants" brought the *Heidelberg Catechism* stamped with the seal of orthodoxy by the Synod of Dort. A wise policy guided the West India Company in supplying their trading-posts and colonies with the means of religion and education at a very early date.

The earliest settlers in New Jersey were from New York. English Puritans from the eastern end of Long Island, at an early period, settled at Elizabethtown; and others from Connecticut soon followed. Later a considerable number of Scotch and Irish em-

* Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 256.

igrants—all Protestants and most of them Presbyterians—settled in the central portions. English Quakers settled in West Jersey. Among them all the Puritan type decidedly predominated.

Delaware was claimed by the Dutch, in right of discovery, who made an unsuccessful attempt to settle it; but subsequently it fell into the hands of Gustavus Adolphus, the eminent Swedish prince and benefactor, and an eager promoter of colonization. Falling on the plains of Lutzen, his minister, Oxenstiern, carried out his plans, and Delaware was settled with Lutheran Swedes. Though the colony was subsequently subdued by the Dutch from New York the Swedes are supposed to have constituted a large part of the substratum of the population. Quakers, New Englanders, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians were subsequently added.

The Quakers.

The Quaker origin of the population of Pennsylvania is one of the familiar facts of history. A few settlers occupied positions within its ample area prior to the settlement by William Penn, in 1682. Swedes, Dutch and New Englanders, who had previously established themselves within the limits of Penn's charter, were kindly tolerated, as were also the Moravians, Mennonites, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, Huguenots, etc., who came at a later date. A colony from Wales settled on "a sort of table-land" in the center of the Alleghany Mountains.

Scotch Presbyterians.

Not much behind the Puritans were the Scotch in their contributions to the religious character of the United States. On the accession of Charles II. to the throne of England, Presbyterianism was almost immediately abolished, and Episcopacy, in a very extreme form, was established in Scotland. An intense revulsion was awakened among the Highlanders. Many Scotch Presbyterians went over from Scotland to Ireland, and others emigrated to America. A long and steadily flowing stream of Scotch and Irish Presbyterian emigration to America continued down to the time of the American Revolution. Some came to Londonderry, N. H., to Boston, Pelham and Palmer, in Massachusetts; to Ulster County, Orange and Albany, New York; to East New Jersey, to Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, etc.

The Huguenots.

Closely after the Puritans and the Scotch Presbyterians follow the Huguenots, in the list of those who contributed largely to the

formation of the religious character of the United States. With the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, all public worship among Protestants was suppressed. Dark, lurid, bloody scenes of persecution and torture followed. Multitudes perished at the stake or on the gibbet and the wheel. It has been estimated that not less than half a million Protestants left France. In vain were the frontiers guarded. The fugitives sought refuge in all the Protestant countries of Europe, at the Cape of Good Hope and in America. Many of them, skilled in useful arts, introduced new manufactures in their new homes. In the American colonies they were welcomed every-where. New England cordially received them; New York was not backward; but "a warmer clime was more inviting to the exiles of Languedoc, and South Carolina became the chief resort of the Huguenots." But the Huguenot emigration to the English colonies of America had been going on from the time of the Siege of Rochelle, and even as early as 1656, and continued down through the whole colonial history.

We find Huguenots in Boston in 1662. In 1686 they settled in Oxford, Mass., and also erected a church in Boston. From these excellent people were derived the Faneuils, the Bowdoins, the Legares, Dehons, etc. Smith, the historian of New York, says that in 1706, next to the Dutch, they were the most numerous and the wealthiest class of the population in that colony. New Rochelle, N. Y., was settled by them, and their descendants are numerous in Ulster and Dutchess counties. In 1679, Charles II., at his own expense, sent two ship-loads to South Carolina. In 1690, William III. sent a large colony to Virginia, and two more colonies came thither within ten years. In 1752, no fewer than 1,600 settled in South Carolina, and more than 200 others in 1764. In Virginia they were exempted, by a special edict, from parochial assessments as early as the year 1700. It is evident that the Huguenots constituted a very considerable element numerically, and a very potential and beneficent one in character, in our colonial population. Some of the most eminent persons, divines, educators, financiers and statesmen, that ever adorned the United States were Huguenots. "The very best of the old ministers of Virginia were from this stock; Moncure, Latane, the two Fontaines, the two Maurys, and others."* In later times "the pious McDuvall, of Richmond," and, among the patriots and statesmen, Chief Justice Jay, Elias Boudinot, the Bayards, Legare, the Lawrences, the Grympys, Marion, Rutledge, etc., were of Huguenot origin.

* *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia.* By Bishop Meade, Vol. I, p. 465.

The Palatines, Moravians, Lutherans, etc.

Large numbers of Protestant Germans, conspicuously those suffering from the devastations of the French in the Upper Palatinate, a country lying on both sides of the Rhine, came to the United States in the colonial era. Successive waves of pillage, fire, and blood rolled over that unhappy land, causing a long stream of emigration. About 2,700 "Palatines," refugees in England, were shipped to New York in 1710; and 5,000 more came soon after and settled on the Hudson and the Mohawk. Mennonites from Germany founded Germantown, Pa., about 1681–'84, and in 1707 a large number settled in Lancaster County, Pa. In 1722 they were supposed to constitute the third part of the population of that region. Some of these German emigrants were Presbyterians of the Reformed Church, others were Lutherans, and others still Moravians. The earlier German emigrations spread into Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Maine. Previous to the time of the American Revolution the German emigration was not only extensive but very pure, and almost wholly Protestant, with a high standard of morality and distinguished for Christian virtues.

A few Protestant Poles settled in New Jersey about 1683, and a few Piedmontese, fleeing from persecution, found an asylum in the colony of New York.

How different in respect to religious character and intelligence were these early settlers in the United States from the colonists of Phenicia, Greece and Rome, or, in later times, the papists from France, Spain, and Portugal. They were not the rich, the voluptuous and the effeminate, nor were they poor and spiritless; but from the middle class, noted for industry, temperance, and frugality. Taken as a whole, they were not ignorant, but well informed for their times. Many had acquired a good education, almost all could read, and were too much developed in thought to be slaves of despotic power. They were not vicious men of unbridled appetites and lusts, like the colonists of South America and Mexico, but virtuous. Some emigrants in the colonial era there were whose profligacy could no longer be endured at home; and some broken-down gentlemen, too lazy to work, and some infamous dependents upon aristocratic families, sent away to screen their friends from shame. These were, however, not the earliest colonists who laid the new social foundations in the United States. The former were religious men, in whom religious motives predominated. Their minds had been agitated by the religious questions which had hith-

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erto chiefly occupied the attention of the schoolmen, but were now brought prominently before the minds of the people. Not a few fled from persecution for conscience' sake. Secular considerations were not wanting, for they hoped to improve their temporal circumstances and found States. If some of the prejudices and errors of former ages adhered to them in respect to rights of conscience, etc., they were, nevertheless, even in these respects in advance of the rest of the world, and opened here the best asylum for liberty the world had ever known. To extend the kingdom of God was the prominent object of their labors. With the exception of the colony of Lord Baltimore, they were Protestants; men "of stern and lofty virtue, invincible energy, and iron wills—the fitting substratum on which to build great States.

Section 3.—Churches Organized.

The *Protestant Episcopal Church* was the first planted within the limits of the original United States. Introduced by the Virginia Colony in 1607, only thirteen years later within that jurisdiction there were eleven parishes and five clergymen. Being the only religious body legally recognized within the vast territory granted to that colony at a very early period, it acquired an extensive influence. It also soon entered Maryland, where, notwithstanding the Roman Catholic religion was the faith of the founders of the colony, yet, by the terms of the charter, toleration was allowed to all churches recognized by the crown at home.* In the latter State it soon outstripped the Papal Church, its adherents becoming a majority of the population before the close of the century, and the Church itself the established Church, in 1692. In Virginia, however, although it was the favored Church, sustained by the whole strength of the civil power to the exclusion of all others, yet its prosperity was not commensurate with its external advantages.

The Episcopal Church was not introduced into New York until after that colony surrendered to the British forces in 1664. It made no progress toward ecclesiastical distinction until after 1693, when, under the governorship of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, who was devotedly attached to that communion, a foundation for the establishment of the Church was laid and the people were taxed for its support.

* Maryland enjoyed religious toleration until 1692, when the Episcopal Church was legally established and the privileges of the Roman Catholics were curtailed.

The first attempt to establish the Episcopal Church in New England was at the settlement of Portsmouth, in 1634, when John Mason, one of the first grantees of New Hampshire, sent from across the ocean a communion service, Bible, prayer-book and altar-cloth. William A. Gibbons, the assistant governor, and other persons presented a glebe of fifty acres of land. Rev. R. Gibson was rector until 1642, when the Puritan government at Boston compelled him to leave, and a long interregnum followed, until 1732, when a church was permanently founded.

In Massachusetts no Episcopal Church service was held until the arrival of Andros in Boston in 1686, when he compelled the opening of the Old South Church for a Church of England service. "King's Chapel" was erected in 1688. Dr. Bradford, in his biography of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, says that the governors of Massachusetts, being appointed by the king, were Episcopalians sent over from England. Thus, for nearly a hundred years before the Revolution, the few Episcopal clergy enjoyed official patronage and favor in their efforts to build up the English Episcopal Church in America. It was considered important to extend and increase this Church here so as to secure obedience to the political measures of the crown.

At the time of the Revolution the Episcopal Church had been established in most of the colonies. Some adverse circumstances operated against it. The American churches, forming a part of the diocese of London, were far removed from Episcopal supervision, and could obtain fresh supplies of clergy only from England. A very hostile feeling long before the Revolution existed in the northern colonies toward Great Britain, biasing the people against clergymen coming from England. For these reasons, notwithstanding this Church had able ministers, yet her energies were only partially developed, and in the whole country north of Maryland at the commencement of the Revolution the parochial clergymen did not exceed eighty, all of whom, with the exception of those in Boston, Newport, New York City and Philadelphia, received their principal support from the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and thirty of whom were in New England. In Virginia there were 164 churches and chapels and 91 clergymen supported by a legal establishment.

American *Congregationalism* dates from the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620. In its doctrines being very similar to the Presbyterians of the Middle States, it did not extend much beyond New England until after the beginning of the present century. As early as 1700 its churches in New England numbered one hundred and

twenty, of which seventy-seven were in Massachusetts, thirty-five in Connecticut, six in New Hampshire, and two in Maine. At that time only five churches of all other denominations existed in Massachusetts; namely, two Baptist, one Episcopal, one Quaker, and one French Protestant; but at the time of the Revolution there were three hundred Congregational churches in Massachusetts to seventy-eight of all others. In the other New England States this denomination held nearly the same relative rank, though in Connecticut it was probably even stronger. Two memorable synods were held during the colonial era—at Cambridge in 1648, and at Saybrook, Conn., in 1708.

It should not be overlooked that New Jersey had a considerable number of Congregational churches between 1640 and 1740, and a few even later. Being settled largely by emigrants from New England they naturally brought their ecclesiastical polity with them. In Morris County there was a cluster of those churches whose form of government was pure Congregationalism and which were served by Congregational ministers. The first church in Newark was organized on a Congregational platform at Branford, Conn., and emigrated to Newark in 1666. A competent authority affirms that the first churches (now Presbyterian) at Orange, Bloomfield, Caldwell, Shrewsbury, Piscataway, Connecticut Farms, Woodbridge, and a number of others were originally as thoroughly Congregational as the churches of Massachusetts or Connecticut. The same is true of the oldest churches of South Jersey, in Sussex and Warren counties, settled by sons of New England. But Presbyterianism and Congregationalism in that day were so intertwined that the denominational names were often interchanged, until it was not easy to draw the line of separation. During the first half of the present century only a half dozen Congregational Churches were left in the State.

The *Regular Baptists* had a purely American origin in Rhode Island in 1639. Baptist churches and ideas had previously existed, but the organization of the Church in America was entirely the result of local circumstances, and not from a foreign impulse. In 1663, twenty-four years after the beginning in Rhode Island, amid much opposition the first Baptist Church in Massachusetts was constituted in the town of Seekonk, or Swansea, and two years later another in Boston. The first Baptist Church in New York City was organized in 1669, but it existed only a short time. In 1702 the Baptist interest was revived there in a permanent form. The first Church in Maine, formed at Kittery in 1682, was broken up. In 1768 permanent churches were organized in Berwick and Gorham. The first

in South Carolina was organized in 1683, but in 1751 there were only four small Baptist churches in that State. The first in Pennsylvania dates back to 1684; in New Jersey, 1688; in Delaware, 1701; in Connecticut, at Groton, 1705; in Virginia, 1714; in North Carolina, 1742; in New Hampshire, 1755; in Georgia, 1755; in Vermont, 1768; in Kentucky, 1781; in Tennessee, 1780; in Illinois, 1796. It should be added that many important accessions of Baptists were received from England, Wales, the Isle of Wight, etc.

For nearly a century the Baptists were a persecuted people in many of the colonies, and in 1762 they numbered only about 100 churches in this country. In 1775 they had increased to 227 and were situated as follows: in Maine, 3; New Hampshire, 7; Massachusetts, 40; Connecticut, 15; Rhode Island, 28; New York, 7; New Jersey, 20; Pennsylvania, 15; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 4; Virginia, 55; North Carolina, 28; South Carolina, 11; Georgia, 3.*

The *Six Principle Baptists* are accustomed to date their origin back to 1639, in Rhode Island.

The *Seventh-Day Baptist* Church in the United States was first formed in Rhode Island. In 1665 Mr. Stephen Mumford, a member of this denomination, came from England to Newport, R. I., and soon after Mr. Samuel Hubbard, a member of the regular Baptist Church, embraced these views. In 1671 there was an open separation, and a Seventh-Day Baptist Church was organized in that city.

The "*United Brethren in Christ*" originated in this country in 1755. This body grew out of a great spiritual quickening in the mind of Rev. William Otterbein, a distinguished minister of the German Reformed Church. This occurred after he landed in America. Two other German ministers soon entered into hearty sympathy with him. At one time they were called German Methodists, and were in close fellowship with Rev. Messrs. Asbury and Wright, early Methodist itinerants.

The *Reformed* (Protestant Dutch) *Church* was planted on Manhattan Island in 1628, though some religious services had been previously held. Rev. Jonas Michaelius was the first pastor. Rev. Everardus Bogardus, a prominent early divine, came in 1633. This denomination held exclusive sway until the English took possession of the colony in 1664. During the next thirty years the English population increased. After the Episcopal Church was established, in 1693, all non-episcopal inhabitants in the counties of New York,

* See articles on the "Baptist Interest in the United States," by Rev. Rufus Babcock, D.D., in the *American Quarterly Register*, 1840, 1841, 1842, and 1844, p. 185.

Richmond, Queens and Westchester were compelled by law to support the Episcopal Church. The growth of the Dutch Church was therefore much retarded; but immigration favored the Church, and from 1664 to 1737 about fifty churches were added to the denomination. This Church being dependent on the Church of Holland for ministers, and in all ecclesiastical matters subject to the Classis of Amsterdam, existed at a great disadvantage, agitated by many internal troubles, until, through the influence of Rev. Dr. John H. Livingston, an independent organization was effected in 1771. In 1775 it numbered in New York and New Jersey 25 churches and 60 ministers.

The *Friends* first appeared in New England about the middle of the seventeenth century, where they suffered severe persecution in all the colonies except Rhode Island. As early as 1672 George Fox found an established settlement of Friends, in Perquimans County, North Carolina. In 1674 another colony was founded in New Jersey, and in 1682 the famous William Penn Colony settled in Pennsylvania. They rapidly increased, and at the time of the Revolution exerted a large influence in some of the Middle States. Yearly meetings, which are in a limited sense diocesan, having each a defined territorial jurisdiction and independent of each other in governing and legislative powers, were established in New England in 1661, in Philadelphia in 1683, in New York in 1695, in North Carolina in 1708.

The *Presbyterians* were of Scotch and Irish origin, the first coming to this country to escape persecution. The Huguenot exiles from France were of the same religious faith. The earliest Presbyterians settled in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Eastern Maryland and Central Virginia. In 1688 they existed in considerable numbers in Pennsylvania. The first Presbyterian churches* in America of which we have record were founded on the eastern shore of Maryland, at Snow Hill, Rehoboth, Monokin, etc., about 1684; at Freehold, N. J., in 1692; at Philadelphia, in 1698; in New York City in 1716, after ten years of occasional services. Rev. Francis Makensie was the first pioneer of this denomination in the New World. The first Presbytery was constituted in 1706, consisting of seven ministers, and was called the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Ten years later it became a Synod. The first Presbyterian church in New York was erected in 1719. Others followed in the New York Colony and in

* *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., Vol. I, pp. 3, 4.

New Jersey, and the Synod was called the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. From 1713–1719 large emigrations from the North of Ireland and Scotland came to New England and the Middle States. Irish Presbyterians settled in Boston, Worcester, Pelham and Newburyport, in Massachusetts; at Casco Bay, Macosquin, Boothbay, etc., in Maine; and in Pembroke, Peterborough and Londonderry, N. H. The first Presbytery in New England was constituted at Londonderry, N. H., April 16, 1745.

A new phase of Presbyterianism developed. The old Scotch and Irish Presbyterians mingled largely with Presbyterians from England, Wales and New England. The latter had more liberal views in regard to some practical matters than the old stanch men of Scotland and Ireland. The opinions began to differ until, in 1741, there was a complete division into the two synods of New York and Philadelphia. The old side, representing the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, made a great deal of what they called "literature;" the new side, representing the revival element, made a great deal of personal piety. Out of this division, under the new side, came the College of New Jersey, first at Elizabeth, then at Newark, and finally at Princeton. In 1758 these two bodies came together again. In 1773 the Presbyterian Church in the United States numbered 2 Synods, 10 Presbyteries and 104 ministers.

The *Reformed Presbyterian* Church is composed of descendants of the persecuted Presbyterians in Scotland, who refused to accede to the Erastian "Settlement of Religion" at the Revolution of 1688, and who in that country still maintain dissent from the union of Church and State. As early as 1752 some Reformed Presbyterian congregations had been formed in North America, but owing to various difficulties they did not unite in a regular organization until the year 1798, when "The Reformed Presbytery of the United States of North America" was constituted in Philadelphia.

The *Associate Reformed* Church in this country originated in a union formed June 13, 1782, between the Reformed Presbyterian and a portion of the Associate Church. The Associate body in Scotland commenced its existence in 1747, on the basis of opposition to the Burgess oath, by means of which the seceders were divided into the Burgher and Anti-Burgher Synods, the latter assuming the name of "Associate." Companies sympathizing with both of these parties emigrated and settled in Pennsylvania, and petitioned the mother churches for pastors, which resulted in the organization of the Associate Presbyterian Church in the United States in 1754 and the Reformed (Covenanter) in 1765.

In 1734 a colony of *Schwenkfelders* emigrated from Silesia to the United States and settled in Pennsylvania, where their descendants have chiefly resided in the counties of Montgomery, Bucks, Berks and Lehigh.

The first *German Reformed* pioneer in the United States was Peter Minuit, a deacon of the Reformed Church in the city of Wesel, who led a colony of Germans to the banks of the Delaware. Of Minuit and his colony no permanent record exists. Revs. John Philip Boem and George Michael Weiss were the earliest German Reformed ministers in this country, and laid the foundations of that Church in Pennsylvania. Mr. Boem commenced preaching at Falkner Swamp, Skippack and Whitemarsh, as early as 1720, and within ten years of that date nearly a dozen churches were founded, though 1727 has been generally, but, as now thought, erroneously, regarded as the earliest date. These people, re-enforced by emigrants, spread into New Jersey, New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina. In 1746 Rev. Michael Schlatter arrived from Germany, authorized to collect and organize the scattered and confused congregations. The preliminary steps for the formation of a Coetus, or Synod, were taken in 1746, and the first annual meeting was held in Philadelphia, September 29, 1747. Thirty-one persons were present, 5 ministers and 26 elders. The meetings were regularly held each year, except during the Revolutionary War, and the proceedings were reported to the Synods of Holland, no action being final without their approval.

In the colony of New York there were many early German Reformed churches. The church on Nassau Street, New York City, numbered among its pastors such men as John Michael Kern, Dr. J. Daniel Gross and Dr. Philip Milledoler, who were famous in their day. There were churches at Claverack, Montgomery, Schoharie, and in the Mohawk Valley, some of which passed over to the Dutch Reformed Church.

The *Lutheran* Church, though early represented in America, was slow in gaining an organized existence. Lutherans appeared on Manhattan Island as early as 1621, but they came without a shepherd. The Swedish Lutheran settlers, who came to the banks of the Delaware in 1638, brought with them a minister, but no Church organization long existed. Other Lutherans came to New York in 1644, but were dependent on lay instruction. In 1653 they had so increased as to seek the services of a preacher, but vainly presented their petition to the Dutch Directory. In 1664 the English authorities granted the Lutherans religious liberty, and in 1669, Rev. Jacob

Fabricius, their first pastor, reached this country. Two years later the first house of worship was erected. The Lutherans received large accessions in 1710 to 1717, when 4,000 Germans, victims of oppression, took refuge in New York, Pennsylvania and South Carolina. In 1734 a colony of German Lutherans, accompanied with pastors, settled in Georgia. As early as 1739 Waldoborough, Maine, was settled by Lutherans. The towns of Frankfort and Kennebec, in Maine, and Leyden, in Massachusetts, were also settled by German Lutherans. With the year 1742 opens a new epoch in the history of the Lutheran Church in America, when it assumed an organic form under the leadership of that eminent man Rev. H. M. Mühlenberg, D.D. In 1748 a Synod was formed, and in 1765 a private theological seminary was started.

The *German Seventh-Day Baptist* Church was introduced into this country by a company of German emigrants, who settled in Germantown, Pa., in 1723.

The "*Dunkers*," "*German Baptists*," or "*Brethren*," as they have been variously called, came in considerable numbers from 1719 to 1730, and settled in Pennsylvania.

The *Mennonites* first came from Germany to Pennsylvania in 1683. Others followed in 1698, settling near Germantown, where they erected their first school and meeting-house in 1708. Others followed in 1711, 1717 and 1727. In 1735 they numbered five hundred families in the county of Lancaster alone.

The first colony of *Moravians* came in 1734. Count Zinzendorf visited the United States in 1741, and churches had been constituted in Bethlehem, Emmaus, Philadelphia and Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, and in New York City, before 1750.

Methodism commenced its career in this country twenty-seven years after its origin in England. Followers of Rev. John Wesley had settled in different localities, not as colonies, or by any concerted action, but as individuals and families. Their first religious services, held in New York City in 1766, were the result of spontaneous religious convictions; but the first societies were organized under the ecclesiastical supervision of Mr. Wesley, who sent some of his preachers as missionaries to America. The first church edifice was erected in 1768. Francis Asbury came to America in 1771. The first Conference was held in Philadelphia, in 1773, consisting of ten preachers, whose fields of labor, as indicated in the *Minutes* of that year, were in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia; 1,160 communicants were reported. In 1776 their number had increased to 24 preachers

and 4,921 communicants, and they had extended their labors as far south as North Carolina. Paul and Barbara Heck, Philip Embury, Capt. Webb, a local preacher, who preached the first sermon, and Robert Strawbridge, * were the earliest Methodist names in America, if we except the transient visits of John and Charles Wesley thirty years before, and of George Whitefield, who, at the time of his first tour through the colonies, had not broken away from Rev. John Wesley.

The *Jews* first came to America for the same reason that the Puritans, Huguenots and others did—to escape persecution. Manhattan Island was their first refuge, whither Jews of Spanish and Portuguese descent fled to escape the Inquisition. The name of Assur Levy, a Jew, appears on the *New York City Records* for 1660. Peter Stuyvesant opposed giving them protection, and it was not till the end of the century that they obtained freedom of worship. In 1728 their first synagogue was erected, and the following year their first cemetery was dedicated. Noe Willey, of London, gave the land to his three sons, who were New York merchants, as a lasting heritage for the Hebrews. Subsequently the terms of the gift were violated by the Tradesman's Bank, and later still by the New Bowery. A Jewish synagogue was built at Newport, R. I., in 1658; at Savannah, Ga., in 1733; in Charleston, S. C., in 1750; in Richmond, Va., in 1719.

* Strawbridge is now claimed by some as being the first to actively and formally promote Methodism in America. See *History of Methodism*, by Bishop H. N. McTyeire, D.D., p. 253.

CHAPTER III.

LATER ROMAN CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS.

SEC. 1. The French in the North.
" 2. The English in Maryland.
SEC. 3. The French in the Mississippi Valley.
" 4. Résumé of Papal Movements.

Section 1.—The French in the North.

AS in the South, so also in the North, papal missions closely follow in the wake of discovery; in the former section the Spaniards leading the way; in the latter, the French.

In a short period, the Spaniards subjected the continent south of 31 degrees north latitude to their dominion. France promptly entered the lists, competing for the possession of the New Hemisphere. But within seven years of the discovery of the continent the bold mariners of Normandy became familiar with the fisheries of Newfoundland, and as early as 1506, a map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, drawn by a citizen of Honfleur, was exhibited in Paris. Two years later North American Indians were presented at the French Court.

During the next 130 years French-American exploration clustered around three distinguished names—Verrazano, Cartier, and Champlain—the second following ten years after the first, and the last seventy years after the first voyage of the second. Verrazano sailed for America in 1524. Touching the coast of North Carolina, he proceeded northward, entered New York harbor, tarried fifteen days off Rhode Island, inspected the broken line of New England, reached Newfoundland, and returned to France with a detailed account of his discoveries.

Cartier next bore the flag of France into the Western Hemisphere. Reaching Newfoundland, he entered the great gulf and river beyond, to both of which he gave the name St. Lawrence, sailed up the river as far as Montreal and returned to France. Two other expeditions under Cartier, with colonists, reached the territory of the St. Lawrence, but made no permanent settlement.

During the next fifty years, rent by civil strife at home, France

made no attempt to gain new possessions in America. Under the mild and tolerant reign of Henry IV. the star of France once more emerged from the clouds that had enshrouded its glory. After several futile attempts, the period of permanent success dawned, and French dominion in America was extended from the Frozen Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico.

Champlain.

Champlain, a naval officer of high repute for science, keen intellect, cautious inquiry, and versatility, had also become noted for enterprise and courage. Delighting in bold adventure, he had already, in the service of Spain, visited Porto Rico, St. Domingo, Cuba, and the City of Mexico; and his fertile, penetrating mind had suggested the project of uniting the two great oceans, by a canal at Darien. Him the merchants of Rouen selected to secure a monopoly of the fur trade in the vast regions which Cartier had explored. But Champlain could not be restricted to so narrow a sphere. Faithfully executing the designs of his patrons, he aspired not merely to the profits of trade, but also to the higher glory of founding a State. Sailing from France in 1604, after leaving colonists in Nova Scotia, he visited various points along the New England coast and the River St. Lawrence. In 1608, he founded Quebec. For about a quarter of a century, he presided over the province, extending his exploration up the Saguenay and the Ottaway, into northern New York, and as far as Lake Nippissing and the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, and entered into friendly negotiations with all the Indian tribes except the implacable Iroquois. His wise policy and energetic administration firmly established French dominion in all those vast regions.

The standard of the papacy was every-where united with that of France; Verrazano, Cartier, and Champlain all being devoted sons of Rome. When Champlain embarked with colonists the benediction of the Roman pontiff followed the families which exiled themselves to evangelize the Indians. Roman Catholic missionaries accompanied the expedition, Mary de Medici contributing money for their support; and the Indian tribes, soon "touched with the humanity of the French, listened attentively to the message of redemption." A little earlier than this, De Monts, the Huguenot founder of Nova Scotia, to obtain the free exercise of his own religion consented to allow the Indians of that province to be instructed in the Catholic faith. This was the first foothold of the papacy in the north. Two Jesuit missionaries labored among

the Micmacs in Nova Scotia, but soon removed to the coast of Maine, where, seven years before the Pilgrim fathers anchored within Cape Cod, they planted a French Catholic mission on Mt. Desert. The latter was soon destroyed by fishermen from the Virginia Colony on their way to Newfoundland.

Quebec Founded.

Quebec furnished a more secure as well as a more strategic center for French and papal aggression, and religious zeal, not less than commercial ambition, inspired its settlement. The commercial monopoly of a privileged class alone could not foster a colony; the climate "where summer hurries through the sky" did not invite to agriculture; no persecution of the Catholics in France swelled the stream of emigration, and at first "there was little except religious enthusiasm to give vitality to the province."

First, three Recollets, a reformed branch of the Franciscans, responded in 1615, one establishing a mission at Quebec, another at Tadousac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, among the Montagnais, and the other among the Hurons and other tribes of the great north-western lakes. In 1625, three Jesuit priests arrived to aid them. On the capture of Quebec by the English, in 1629, all the missionaries were carried to England. The province was restored to France in 1632, when the missions fell exclusively into the hands of the Jesuits, who soon returned to wrestle with paganism in the northern and western wilds. They traversed not only the Canadian solitudes, but also entered within the present domain of the United States, in Maine, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and the Mississippi Valley. But Quebec was the center whence they issued forth on their widely-extended missions. We shall soon see them discovering the Mississippi River, founding missions at Mackinaw, on the Green Bay, in Illinois, in Arkansas, and Louisiana, all except the last three subject to the Superior at Quebec.*

"Thus," says Bancroft, "it was neither commercial enterprise nor royal ambition which carried the power of France into the heart of our continent; the motive was religion. Religious enthusiasm colonized New England, and religious enthusiasm founded Montreal, made a conquest of the wilderness on the upper lakes, and explored the Mississippi. . . . Within three years after the second

*Quebec was the burning focus of the papal faith—the strategic center of Roman Catholic propagandism, above the tropics, as Mexico, for more than 100 years, had already been, within the tropics.

occupation of Canada, the number of Jesuit priests in the province reached fifteen." They rapidly increased, and "the history of their labors is connected with the name of every celebrated town in the annals of French North America; not a cape was turned nor a river entered but a Jesuit led the way."

The Jesuits.

At an early morning hour, near the end of May, 1633, the booming of cannon from the fort on the hill at Quebec heralded the arrival of the old Governor, Samuel de Champlain, who had returned to resume the command of the province. He was accompanied by four Jesuit fathers. Conspicuous among them was Jean de Brébeuf, "a tall, stern man, with features which seemed carved by nature for a soldier, but which the mental habits of years had stamped with the visible impress of the priesthood." A descendant from a noble family of Normandy, he had become more eminent for self-mortification, austerities, and devotedness. He had been abundant in labors, in vows, in visions, and ecstasies; and, as the highest of all human attainments, he eagerly coveted the crown of martyrdom. Edward Masse, Anthony Daniel, and DaVost were his companions.

"These men," says Parkman, "aimed at the conversion of a continent. From their hovel on the St. Charles they surveyed a field of labor whose vastness might tire the wings of thought itself —a scene resplendent and appalling, darkened with omens of peril and woe. They were an advance guard of the great army of Loyola, strong in the discipline that controlled not alone the body and the will, but the intellect, the heart, the soul, and the innermost consciousness."

On Christmas day, 1635, the spirit of Champlain, the founder of New France, passed away. Who will be his successor? Will he be zealous for the faith? These anxious inquiries of the Jesuits were soon satisfactorily answered. The following June, Charles de Mortmagny, a knight of Malta, arrived. Climbing to the heights of Quebec, he prostrated himself before the uplifted crucifix and zealously espoused the cause of the missions. Slowly the population of Quebec increased. A school for Indian children, a convent, and a hospital were founded. The fort was rebuilt with stone; behind the fort a church was erected and streets were laid out. In 1640, the inhabitants did not exceed two hundred, chiefly agents of the fur company and men in their employ, few of whom had families. The remainder were priests and nuns. There were few

motives to emigration. Hunting was freely allowed, but trade and fishing were restricted, and the rude soil yielded meager crops. The climate was rigorous, and the civil affairs arbitrary. All were kept in passive subjection to the priest and the soldier, and liable, for the neglect of any religious service, to be tied like a dog, with collar and chain, to a post. Quebec life was mediæval. Monastic and military appendages were every-where visible. Processions, penances, masses, and confessions were punctiliously observed. All were under the watchful eye of the Jesuit, not even the Governor excepted. A system of espionage was established—a female association, called *Sainte Famille*, met every Thursday in the church, with closed doors, and related, as they had previously pledged themselves to do, all they had learned, good and evil, concerning other people during the week. It was not strange that some people became restive, and that deputies were sent to France begging relief "from the hell in which the consciences of the colony were kept." But little relief, however, came.

"To the Jesuits," says Parkman, "the atmosphere of Quebec was well-nigh celestial. 'In the climate of New France,' they wrote, 'one learns perfectly to seek only God, to have no desire but God, no purpose but for God.' And again, 'To live in New France is to live in the bosom of God.'"

In the still depths of convent cells, and in the self-sacrificing scenes of distant missions, there were doubtless deep fervors, enkindling quenchless longings in devout hearts unperverted by the prestige of royalty, the wiles of intrigue or the patronage of power. It would be difficult to do justice to some great examples of self-forgetfulness and devotion in this truly heroic period of Jesuit missions. But others possessed a different spirit. Blinded by love of power, they aspired for extended dominion. Regarding the Church as supreme over the State, the political Jesuit schemed to make them play into each other's hands.

I would not asperse this distinguished order nor its Canadian missionaries, however credulous, supersitious, or shorn of some of the best attributes of real manhood under the self-mortifying processes of their peculiar discipline. The patient, toiling, suffering, dying sons of Loyola, scattered through those rigorous, barbarous, and far-reaching wilds, were not open to the suspicion of personal ambition. And yet, in this early period of the comparative purity of the order, their religious propagandism seems to have been directed by worldly policy, which had reference largely to the ends of commerce and national expansion. They sought to establish

French dominion in the hearts of savages by subduing their stubborn necks to "the yoke of the Faith." The power of the temporal ruler was to follow the power of the priest. Thus it was hoped, with the divided and scattered Indian bands, to build up "a vast united wilderness empire which in time might span the Continent."

Montreal Founded.

The founding of Montreal, in 1642, and its early history were not less religious. For several years it was almost wholly a religious community. Its founders bound themselves to seek no earthly reward, but hastened to this perilous outpost, then exposed to the inroads of the ferocious Iroquois. It was an excellent position for a mission; for here met two great rivers. The St. Lawrence flowing from the west, the outlet of the great inland lakes, with their countless tributaries covering the heart of the continent, and the Ottawa, draining a vast northerly region, jointly embraced, in their uniting waters, the island of Montreal, "the key of a boundless heathenism." Montreal and Quebec continued under the governor, with his seat at Quebec, down to the conquest of the province by the English in 1763.

From this burning focus of intense religious propagandism the emissaries of Rome irradiated the northern borders of the United States, and bore the torch of discovery and missions through the great western regions.

Champlain could conceive of no more feasible plan of building up the French kingdom in Canada than an alliance with the Hurons, the most mighty and stationary of all the Indian tribes, and of no method of confirming that alliance but by the establishment of missions. The charter of the province favored the measure, "for it recognized the neophyte among the savages as an enfranchised citizen of France."

The Hurons, in respect to location, held the key of the great west. They must therefore be the first to be won to the faith. With their aid he hoped to be able to subdue the Iroquois, whom he had failed to attach to him, and thus ultimately gain possession of New York.

The Huron Mission.

About eighty miles north of the present city of Toronto, on an irregular indented peninsula extending from Lake Simcoe into the southern portion of the Georgian Bay, lived the great Huron tribes. Dwelling compactly in eighteen populous villages, they numbered

thirty thousand souls. The region was "an alternative of meadows and forests interlaced with footpaths leading from village to village." The fields afforded evidence of careful industry, rewarded with abundant crops of corn, beans, squashes, etc., in autumn frugally stored for winter's use. In respect to language, superstitions, and many other things, they were like most Indian tribes; but in size of brain they far exceeded other Indians, equaling the famous Iroquois of New York, of whom they were a cognate tribe. Their large, compact villages, their domestic, agricultural, and trading habits, their brave warriors, and favorable situation, made them a powerful people, with great political influence over all other Canadian Indians.

The sagacious mind of Champlain was not slow to perceive the advantages which would accrue to France and the papacy from the conversion of the Hurons to the Catholic faith. He therefore resolved upon special efforts to evangelize this remarkable people, three hundred leagues away.

In 1615, Le Caron, an unambitious Franciscan, through many privations and wild experiences, on foot or paddling a birch canoe, reached this far-off region. Other Franciscan priests followed, and, in 1625, three Jesuit priests, who remained until the capture of Canada by the English, in 1629. We have already seen one of these, the indomitable Father Brébeuf, after four years' absence, once more at Quebec, with co-laborers, preparing to renew the Huron mission.

In the summer of 1634 a party of Hurons visited Quebec, and the Jesuit fathers, obedient to their vows, amid salvos of cannon from the fort set forth with them for their distant homes. They journeyed by way of the Ottawa and its interlocking streams for more than nine hundred miles, through a region horrible with forests, wild beasts, and wild men. All the day long, and day after day, the missionaries paddled the canoe, or waded in the shallow streams drawing it along against the swift current, with no food but a scanty measure of crushed corn mixed with water, and no couch at night but the bare earth and rocks. Five and thirty water-falls and fifty rapids and shallows were counted, where they lifted their canoes from the water and carried them upon their shoulders for leagues through thick and tangled woods. Thus these "consecrated envoys" pursued their way by rivers, lakes, and forests, making solemn vows to St. Joseph, and snatching intervals from their imperfect sleep to read their breviaries by moonlight or the camp fire. At the end of thirty days they descended the French River, passed along the lonely shores of the Georgian Bay, and reached the heart of the Huron wilderness, stretched in its unbroken savage slumbers. The mission-

aries were worn and exhausted. Even the iron frame and resolute spirit of Brébeuf, the Ajax of the mission, were severely taxed.

Recovering from their fatigue, they commenced their mission; first the language, then translations, then instruction, baptisms, etc. "All that the church offered to the princes and nobles of the European world," says Bancroft, "was showed to the humblest of the savage neophytes. The hunter as he returned from his wild rovings was taught to hope for eternal rest; the braves, as they returned from war, were warned of the wrath which kindles against sinners a never dying fire, fiercer far than the fires of the Mohawks; and the idlers of the Indian villages were told the exciting tale of the Saviour's death for their redemption."

The mission was re-enforced in due time, and new missions were founded among neighboring tribes. In 1649 the mission force numbered more than fifty priests and assistants, laboring in eleven stations. The news from this Huron mission awakened in France the strongest sympathy. The king, the queen, the princesses, and the clergy sent presents and substantial aid. Even Italy listened with interest to the novel story, and the pope himself expressed his favor. But reverses severe and overwhelming, just at the time when the labors of the missionaries were achieving their best success, came upon both priest and people.

The Hurons were a doomed nation. Between them and the Iroquois, as the Six Nations in New York were called, an old feud existed. In the years 1648 and 1649 a succession of vengeances almost annihilated them. While the braves were absent at a great distance, on a hunting expedition, the Iroquois suddenly burst upon the Huron country, and their villages were destroyed with a destruction almost as sudden as lightning from a cloud. A series of terrible scenes too fearful to relate transpired under the several invasions of their implacable foes. The missionaries had no thought of flight, but stood like steel in the teeth of danger. Hurrying from cabin to cabin, they prepared the sick and infirm for death, soothed the wounded, cheered the courage of the defenders, until they themselves became victims of the assailants. Their enemies seized them, fiercely tore off their finger-nails, compelled them to run the dreadful Indian gauntlet, and then bound them to stakes. Brébeuf's hands were cut off, but he gloried in his sufferings and exhorted his captive converts. Hatchets heated in the fire were forced under his armpits and between his thighs, and a collar of heated hatchets was placed round his neck. He exhorted his converts until a stone crushed his mouth. They cut off his nose and underlip and thrust

a burning torch into his mouth. In derision, the priests were baptized with boiling water. Brébeuf's iron frame endured unaccountably. Seeing him nearly dead, they opened his breast, and crowded around to drink the heart-blood of so valiant a man, thinking thus to imbibe his courage.

The death-knell of the Hurons had sounded. Left in scattered remnants, without a leader or an organization, crazed and paralyzed, their towns were deserted, and they wandered as fugitives. Some settled in small groups on the islands of Lake Huron. Pressed from point to point by the insatiable Iroquois, they passed into the far west.

With the fall of the Hurons closed the brightest period of Jesuit propagandism in North America. Henceforth the Jesuits were more prominently identified with schemes of discovery and conquest.

Maine and New York Invaded.

On the 29th of August, 1646, twelve years after the commencement of the great Huron mission, and three years before its destruction, twenty-three years after the erection of Fort Orange, at Albany, and sixteen years after the founding of Boston, two missions were simultaneously projected by the Canadian Jesuits within the northern limits of the United States—one among the Abenakis, in Maine, and the other among the Mohawks, in New York. The missionaries were Fathers Gabriel Druellettes and Isaac Jogues.

The Abenakis belonged to the great Algonquin race and resided in five communities; two in Canada, and the others upon the Saco, the Androscoggin and the Kennebec rivers. They have been characterized as very brave, tenacious, remarkably faithful to covenants, and possessing stronger family attachments than other Indians. The French very early and permanently attached this people to themselves, fostered their hostility to the English, and made them thorns in the sides of the New England colonists. It was this people, in alliance with the French and often under French leaders, that ravaged the northern settlements of New England in the colonial period.

Upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, near Quebec, a Jesuit mission station was founded, in 1637, by Noel Brulart de Sillery, a Knight of Malta, who, after a brilliant career at the Court of Louis XII., became a model of sanctity and devoted himself to good works. From its founder it received its name, Sillery. Here were gathered a few scattered Algonquins and Montagnis, who, from their

love for the faith, gave up a life of wandering, and under the direction of spiritual guides cultivated the soil. Among the noblest of the neophytes in this papal elysium was Charles Meiaskwat, who became noted for extraordinary purity and sanctity. Hearing of some Abenakis held as prisoners, and cruelly tortured by a party of pagan Algonquins, he hastened to their rescue, and returned with them in triumph to Sillery, where they were kindly received, carefully nursed by the nuns of the hospital and instructed in the faith. When sufficiently recovered, one of them, accompanied by Meiaskwat, departed for his native village on the Kennebec. They visited extensively among their people, every-where extolling the Christian doctrine and awakening great desire to know it more fully. One of the chiefs accompanied Charles to Quebec, where he was instructed and baptized. Subsequently two other chiefs came to Quebec and asked for priests to instruct their people.

"Apart from the saving of souls," says Parkman, "there were solid reasons for acceding to their request. The Abenakis were near the colonies of New England; indeed, the Plymouth Colony, under its charter, claimed jurisdiction over them; and, in case of rupture, they would prove serviceable friends or dangerous enemies to New France." Charlevoix (I, 280) also gives this as one motive for the mission.

When the temporary peace was concluded with the Iroquois, in 1646, Father Druellettes was sent to the Kennebec and Father Jogues to the Mohawks. Accompanied by Noel Nagobamat and a party of Indians, Druellettes pursued the route by which, one hundred and twenty-nine years later, Arnold led his soldiers to Quebec, reached the waters of the Kennebec and descended to the Abenakis villages. He devoted himself at once to the study of their dialect, visited the sick, baptized the dying, and imparted such instruction as he could, with his limited knowledge of their language. Descending the river from Norridgewock, he reconnoitered the country from the English trading-post at Augusta to the ocean, thence along the coast to the Penobscot, visiting all the English posts on the way. Being kindly received, he returned to his starting-point, above Augusta, where a chapel was erected and a central station established. He went to Quebec in May, according to previous agreement, much to the grief of the Indians. In the summer of 1650 Druellettes returned, and was joyfully received. Amid a volley of fire-arms the chief embraced the missionary, saying, "I see well that the Great Spirit who rules in the heavens deigns to look favorably on us, since he sends us back our patriarch." Universal joy

prevailed, a banquet was spread in every cabin, and he was forced to visit all.

A Jesuit Priest in Boston.

After a brief period of labor in the mission, Druellettes set out for Boston on an embassy from the Governor of Canada to the New England colonies. "His journey," says Parkman, "is worthy of notice, since, with the unimportant exception of Jogues's embassy to the Mohawks, it is the first occasion on which the Canadian Jesuits appear in a character distinctly political. Afterward, when the fervor and freshness of the missions had passed away, they frequently did the work of political agents among the Indians, but the Jesuit of the earlier period was, with rare exceptions, a missionary only; and, though he was expected to exert a powerful influence in gaining subjects and allies for France, he was to do so by gathering them under the wings of the Church."

The Iroquois had brought Canada to an extremity, and the governor desired military aid against them, proffering as a compensation a reciprocity of trade, known to be much desired by the New England colonies. The time for Druellettes' visit seemed inauspicious; for, only three years before, the Massachusetts Legislature had enacted that a Jesuit entering the colony should be expelled, and, if he returned, hanged. Nevertheless, November found him coasting along Cape Ann to Boston. "Amid the homes of the Puritans," says Shea, "the son of Loyola was well received, and at Roxbury, Eliot, devoted like himself to the conversion of the Indians, invited him to pass the winter under his hospitable roof; but rest was not a part of a Jesuit's life. His Abenakis called him, and by February he was back among them and engaged in his missionary toils." Tarrying a few months, he instructed his catechumens until they were ready for baptism, and in June returned to Quebec. A second visit was made to Boston, but without success. The ambassador, however, on each journey, tarried awhile, ministering to the Abenakis as before.

Thus was the Roman Catholic faith planted among the Indians in Maine. A few more brief visits by this ambassador-priest, and for thirty years they were left without the ministrations of the Church, except a portion of the neophytes who were drawn to the mission at Sillery, and subsequently, on its removal, to the Falls of St. Chaudiere, where they continued to receive instruction. The scattering of the fathers among the dispersed Hurons on the lakes of the far West, the death of some, and the recall of others to

France, had greatly reduced the supply of pastors. Druellettes himself, in company with Dablon, was sent upon an important expedition to Hudson's Bay, and subsequently with the celebrated Marquette, one of his pupils, to the West, where he labored at Sault St. Mary's. After forty years of toil and privation among the Indians of North America, he died at Quebec, in 1681, aged 88 years.

In 1687, the missions among the Abenakis were re-established by Fathers James and Vincent Bigot, and from that time to the American Revolution, thirteen missionaries, chiefly Jesuits, labored among them; but few details of their labors, however, are now available.

We have now come to a new period in the history of these missions, when we find them disturbed and perverted by the turmoils of war and political conquest. In this new phase, the neophytes bear a decidedly militant and savage part and the Jesuits lose their distinctively missionary character and become active intriguers for political ends, and even fomenters of bloody strifes. These hostilities cover three periods—the King William's war (1689–1697), the Queen Anne's war (1700–1713), and a local irritation, more or less intermittent, occasioned by the imperfectly defined north-eastern boundary, finally settled in 1727. In the national wars the colonists participated. The region of the Abenakis was a disputed territory between the French and English; and the Indians being attached to the former by many favors, and particularly through the influence of the Jesuits, were kept in a state of continual hostility.

Impartial justice concedes jealousies, irritations and encroachments on both sides, in these unfortunate and destructive contests; but the terrible massacres of the infant settlements of Casco Bay, Pemaquid, Wells and York, in Maine; Oyster River, Salmon Falls and Dover, N. H., and Haverhill, Mass., by these Indians, under the inspiration of their Jesuit instructors, can never be expunged from the pages of New England history. The Roman Catholic version of the conduct of their missionaries by no means exonerates them. Mr. J. G. Shea, following the Jesuit Charlevoix, says:* "The missionaries, often in jeopardy, remained manfully at their posts, inculcating mercy in war, as well as every other Christian virtue. Sometimes they accompanied the war parties as chaplains, at others they remained with the women and children. We may judge of the fervor of the neophytes by the fact that when the braves of Panawaniské set out to attack Fort Pemaquid, in 1689, they all approached the sacraments with their wives and children, that the

* *History of Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes*, p. 143.

latter might raise pure hands to heaven while they were in deadly combat with the enemies of their race and faith. During the whole period of the expedition a perpetual rosary was established, not even the time of meals interrupting so edifying an exercise."

The Penobscot.

Sober history records that the Jesuits actively participated in schemes for territorial conquest and occupation. Bancroft says that, to protect Acadia, "The Jesuits Vincent and James Bigot collected a village of Abenakis on the Penobscot." He also says, "The missionaries, swaying the minds of the Abenakis, gave the hope of savage allies" to France, in attempting to extend her territorial line to the Kennebec. Again he says, "For a season, hostilities in Maine were suspended, by a treaty of peace with the Abenakis; but in less than a year, solely through the influence of the Jesuits, they were again in the field, led by Villieu, the Freneh commander on the Penobscot; and the village of Oyster River, in New Hampshire, was the victim of their fury. Ninety-four persons were killed or carried away," etc. And it may be added that when the powerful "Five Nations" of New York made a treaty of neutrality with the French and English, in 1701, in which the Abenakis of Maine joined with them, the Jesuits prevailed upon the latter to break their compact, and the first notice of treachery was a fearful massacre, the whole country from Wells to Casco Bay, in Maine, being devastated with burning and butchery. In Maine and New Hampshire the war was marked with great barbarities. Prowling bands of savages penetrated even into Massachusetts, and the people were massacred or carried into captivity.

"Nor did the thought occur," says Bancroft, "that such inroads were atrocious. The Jesuit historian of France relates, with pride, that they had their origin in the counsels and influence of the missionaries, Thury and Bigot; and, extolling the hardihood and the success of the foray, he passes a eulogy on the daring of Taxus, the bravest of the Abenakis. Such is self-love: it has but one root, with a thousand branches. The despot believed his authority from God, and his own personality to constitute the State; the mistresses of kings were, without scruple, made by patent the mothers of hereditary legislators; the English monopolist had no self-reproach for prohibiting the industry of the colonists; Louis XIV., James II. and his successors, Queen Anne, Bolingbroke and Lady Masham, thought it no harm to derive money from the slave-trade; and, in

the pages of Charlevoix, the unavailing cruelties of midnight incendiaries, the murder and scalping of the inhabitants of peaceful villages, and the captivity of helpless women and children, are diffusely narrated as actions that were brave and beautiful."

Father Sebastian Rale.

The case of Sebastian Rale, the Jesuit missionary at Norridgewock, Me., from 1699 to 1724, has received extended notice from Roman Catholic writers, who have given him a high rank in their annals, characterizing him as "learned, zealous, laboring, careful of the religious progress of his flock, careless of his own comfort and life, and desirous even of martyrdom."

Bancroft has represented this distinguished Jesuit in a very favorable light: "Severely ascetic, using no wine, and little food except pounded maize; a vigorous observer of the days of Lent, he built his own cabin, tilled his own garden, drew for himself wood and water, prepared his own hominy, and, distributing all that he received, gave an example of religious poverty. Himself a painter, he adorned the humble walls of his church with pictures. There he gave instruction almost daily. Following his pupils to their wigwams, he tempered the spirit of devotion with familiar conversation and innocent gayety, winning the mastery over their souls by his powers of persuasion. . . .

"The Government of Massachusetts attempted, in turn, to establish a mission, and its minister made a mocking of purgatory and the invocation of saints, of the cross, and of the rosary. 'My Christians,' retorted Rale, 'believe the truths of the Catholic faith, but are not skillful disputants;' and he prepared a defense of the Roman Church. Thus Calvin and Loyola met in the woods of Maine. But the Protestant minister, unable to compete with the Jesuit for the affections of the Indians, returned to Boston, 'while the friar remained, the incendiary of mischief.'" *

Some of Rale's papers fell into the hands of the Government of Massachusetts, from which it appears that he was in correspondence with the Governor of Canada, by whose aid he hoped to exclude the English settlers from the region where he resided, and that he accompanied an expedition of the Indians against the colonies, and acted a conspicuous part in at least one attack upon their settlements. The evidence was so conclusive that the Massachusetts Government undertook to arrest him, and at last, August 23, 1724, the Indian

* Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Centennial Edition, Vol. II, pp. 354, 471.

village at Norridgewock was attacked and destroyed, and Rale fell in the battle.*

The cession of Canada to England, in 1763, militated against these missions, and for a few years before the American Revolution they were without a priest; but they retained their attachment to the papal faith. In the Revolution they joined with the colonists, and took a noble part in that long struggle, Orono, the Penobscot chief, holding "a commission, which he ennobled by his virtues and bravery." On the restoration of peace, the Abenakis asked Dr. Carroll, of Baltimore, for a missionary, when Father Ciquard, a Sulpitian, was sent to them; and as a tribe, they have continued to this day, steadfast in their devotion to the papacy.

In New York.

The result in New York was very different. The deep-laid plan of the Jesuits at Quebec was to hem in the English settlements in New York on the east, and separate them from the Protestants in Nova Scotia, by getting the control of the Indian tribes in Maine. The second part of their plan had reference to the west; to cut off New England from the Protestant colonies of the present middle States by making their way from the north, down by Lake Champlain, Albany, and the Hudson River, to Manhattan Island. Having thus divided the Protestant colonies, they hoped to make them an easy prey. In seeking to accomplish this last part of the programme they desired the aid of the Iroquois Indians of New York, which they hoped to secure by converting them to the papal faith. Had they succeeded in gaining as complete control of them, as they did of the Maine Indians they would have been able to accomplish the destruction of all the Protestant colonies on this continent, and would have consigned the continent to the papacy. The numbers and power of the Iroquois would have been sufficient to enable the French to make a complete conquest. Besides, in that case, the Hurons would not have been slaughtered, but would have been powerful allies in the movement.

The Iroquois.

Under the Indian name, *Hotinnousinouni*, the complete cabin, and the French name Iroquois, was comprised a confederacy of five distinct Indian nations—the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, and the Onondagas—cantoned from the mouth of the

* See *Massachusetts Historical Collections*. Second Series, Vol. VIII, pp. 250, 266.

Mohawk, near Albany, along a series of beautiful lakes, bearing the names of the tribes, as far as the Genesee River. They were noted for large and vigorous physical development, extraordinary courage, and unequaled ferocity. They possessed a larger brain than any other tribe except the Hurons, a kindred body, and were in many respects more advanced and better organized than any other Indians. Under chiefs, half hereditary and half elective, and a government an oligarchy in form and a democracy in spirit, ensconced in palisaded villages, surrounded by fertile and cultivated fields, faithfully maintaining a time-honored league of fraternity, and achieving a great reputation for war and savagery, before the close of the seventeenth century they had subjugated the vast region from Quebec to Lake Superior above the lakes, and from Albany to the Mississippi below, and had become the most conspicuous and dreaded of all the American Indians of their day. They have left behind no evidence of any tendency to emerge from their wild hunter life; but they stand upon the pages of history as the stern conservators of barbarism, in the arts of torture and cruelty matching the worst of their kind.

The hereditary enemies of the Hurons and Algonquins in Canada, by the early alliance of the great Champlain with those tribes and his hostile invasion of the Mohawk territory in 1609, the Iroquois became the deadly enemies of the French. At a restoration of some French captains unharmed, in 1640, a collision took place which gave new zest to their hatred; and the Mohawks formally proclaimed that henceforth French and Huron should be treated alike, and sent out their fierce war-bands to infest all the water communications of the north. The subsequent history of Canada for thirty years, except in a few brief intervals, is full of the wars of the Iroquois, destroying the best missions and rendering the efforts for their establishment among the "Five Nations" themselves abortive.

It is early in the morning of the 2d of August, 1642. Twelve Huron canoes are slowly moving up the St. Lawrence at a point two days distant from Quebec. The lading consists of supplies for the suffering Huron mission. The living freight is chiefly heathen Indians who are returning homeward. A few catechumens in course of instruction for baptism are in the party, and some Huron converts, among whom is the noted Christian chief, Eustache Ahatsistari. There are also two young Frenchmen, René Goupil and Guillaume Couture, *donnes*, or lay-brothers of the mission. Goupil, once a Jesuit novitiate in Paris, compelled by failing health to forego the rigorous discipline of the order, but skilled in surgery, has already

identified himself with the service of the Church. Couture, his companion, a man of intelligence and rigor, is no less devoted to the missionary work

Jogues.

In the leading canoe sits a Jesuit father, in his black gown, whose oval face and delicate mold of features bespeak a modest, thoughtful, and refined nature. Physically slender, constitutionally timid, sensitively conscientious, and profoundly religious, in the fiery ordeal about to open before him he is to be tested to the utmost, and gain a crown of martyrdom. Born in 1607, of a highly respectable family in Orleans, France, in his childhood he became eminent for piety, and at the age of seventeen years was admitted to the celebrated Jesuit Novitiate at Rouen. His brilliant course of study made him a finished scholar and gave promise of a successful literary career. But he earnestly desired a foreign mission, and talked seriously of Ethiopia as his field of toil. At his graduation, however, in 1636, he was sent to the Canadian wilderness. Amid the rigors and privations of the Huron peninsula, under the direction of the eminent Brébeuf, he spent five years of devoted service; and then, accompanied by Raymbault and a few Huron converts, he went forth to plant the cross in fields still more remote. Passing the Manitoulins of the Georgian Bay, and the clustering archipelagoes of Lake Huron, they reached the confines of Lake Superior, and there, at the Falls of St. Mary, "five years," says Bancroft, "before the New England Eliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston Harbor," he preached the Gospel to two thousand Ojibways and Algonquins. Worn by his toils, Raymbault has been borne to Quebec to die of consumption, and his companion is now retracing his course, reserved to encounter a far more dreaded foe. Isaac Jogues, the first to carry the cross into Michigan, is also to be the first to bear it, under the sorest tortures, through the villages of the Mohawks, for those savage red men are about to "gird him and lead him whither he would not."

The twelve canoes have reached the western end of Lake St. Peters, where the St. Lawrence is filled with numerous islands. Suddenly from me rushes ring out wild war-whoops, sharp reports of guns and whistling bullets, and canoes filled with savage Mohawks push out from concealment and bear down upon them. A shameful panic seizes the Hurons; but, rallying a little, they make an ineffectual defense, and fall into the hands of their enemies.

The seventy Iroquois, with twenty Hurons and three French-

men, speedily embark upon the *Richelieu* homeward; and all the way from the St. Lawrence to the Mohawk horrible inflictions of savage cruelty are endured. Sore with wounds, and suffering from hunger and heat, they are hurried along. By day, with keenest relish, their savage captors re-open their wounds and pierce their flesh with awls, and clouds of mosquitoes torment them by night. Several times they meet war parties of Mohawks, and on each occasion they are compelled to run the fearful Indian gauntlet. Jogues sinks under one of these assaults. The chief man among the captives, he fares the worst. He is dragged to a scaffold, and again bruised and burned. His closing wounds gape afresh, his remaining nails are torn out and his hands are mangled.

The water-course finished, the mangled prisoners are loaded down and forced to stagger on, half-starved, subsisting chiefly upon wild berries, until they reach the first palisaded town of the Mohawks on the 14th of August. Another gauntlet ordeal through long lines of fierce dusky savages here awaits them. Couture leads and Father Jogues brings up the rear. A heavy stroke from the stoutest Indian knocks Jogues breathless upon the ground; but, recovering instantly, he staggers on "through the narrow path to Paradise," as he afterward called it. New tortures await them upon the much-dreaded Indian scaffold. Goupil streams with blood; Jogues's left thumb is hacked off by an Algonquin slave; Goupil's right thumb, with a clam-shell; and none escape. Nor does night bring relief. Tied to the ground, with legs and arms extended, they writhe in vain to escape hot coals placed upon them by Indian children. Through three Mohawk villages these tortures are endured, Jogues improving every opportunity to confess the neophytes and baptize the catechumens. A difficulty embarrasses him—a prisoner, he cannot procure water. A passing Indian throws him a stalk of maize. It is morning and the broad leaves glisten with dew, with which he baptizes two; and, while crossing a streamlet, he confers the sacrament upon the third. Thus begins the mission on the Mohawk, though years of darkness and savagery elapse before its establishment.

In one of the villages Jogues is hung by the wrists to two upright posts, an infliction reminding us of some of the tortures inflicted upon Protestants by the Spanish Inquisition. In this excruciating position he remains until upon the point of swooning, when a pitying Indian cuts the cords and releases him. A council of sachems decree his death, but another sentiment soon prevails and he is spared. Devoted to servitude, Jogues performs the menial offices of a squaw, does their bidding without a murmur, patiently bears

abuse, and never rebukes except when they laugh at his devotions or mock his God. A portion of his leisure is devoted to the spiritual comfort of the Huron neophytes, imparting counsel, granting absolution, and baptizing the dying. He acquires the dialect of the tribe and gives instruction in astronomy and theology.

Gradually his liberty is enlarged, and he quietly roams through the fields and lofty forests of the Mohawk Valley, telling his beads, repeating passages of Scripture and chanting psalms. On a stately tree, upon an elevated knoll, he rudely carves a huge cross and prostrates himself in prayer, or sits in deep meditation, assuaging his grief in loving contemplation of Him who was "made perfect through suffering." In the bark of the trees all through the dense groves he carves the name of Jesus, thus consecrating that dark land to him. A living martyr, maimed, mangled, half-clothed, and half-starved, crouching in the corners of rude cabins, or bowing in solitude before the emblems of his faith, this gentle, cultivated man, a scion of a noble stock, and a striking symbol of self-forgetful sacrifice, is the vanguard of his nation's banner and his nation's faith, upon the confines of a vast, revolting heathenism—a worthy theme for an eloquent pen.

Hitherto Jogues has not thought of escape. Meeting the Dutch settlers on the Hudson, they advise him to flee, and offer aid. He thanks them warmly, but to their astonishment he asks for a night to consider and to counsel with God in prayer. It is a night of deep agitation, fearful lest self-love shall beguile him from duty. Should he remain some timely drop of sacramental water applied by his hand may rescue souls from torturing devils and eternal flames. The indications, however, make it probable that his relentless captors will not spare him much longer. He reaches his decision, and, aided by his Dutch friends, escapes to Albany, to Manhattan and to France, after a captivity of fifteen months.

In Paris this remarkable man became a center of curiosity. He was ushered into the presence of the queen, who kissed his mutilated hands, while the ladies of the court thronged around him in homage. Indifferent to their honors, Jogues thought only of returning to his work of converting the Indians. There was one impediment, however, for by a canon of the Church a priest with any deformity was debarred from celebrating mass; but the pope, by a special dispensation, restored the privilege, saying, "It were unjust that a martyr of Christ should not drink the blood of Christ." The following year Jogues was again in Canada.

In the meantime the Iroquois have filled all Canada with alarm.

The fire-arms with which the Dutch had supplied them, added to their numbers, their courage, and their united councils, gave them an advantage over all other tribes which they well understood, and inspired them with an unparalleled audacity. They boasted that they would wipe out the Hurons, the Algonquins and the French from the face of the earth.

"At Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal and in the little fort of Richelieu, that is to say, in all Canada," says Parkman, "no man could hunt, fish, till the fields, or cut a tree in the forest, without peril to his scalp. The Iroquois were every-where and nowhere. A yell, a volley of bullets, a rush of screeching savages, and all was over. . . . While the Indian allies of the French were wasting away beneath this atrocious warfare, the French themselves, and especially the traveling Jesuits, had their full share of the infliction. In truth, the puny and sickly colony seemed in the gasps of dissolution. The beginning of spring, particularly, was a season of terror and suspense; for, with the breaking up of the ice, sure as destiny came the Iroquois. As soon as a canoe could float they were on the war-path, and with the cry of the returning wild fowl mingled the yell of these human tigers. They did not always wait for the breaking ice, but set forth on foot, and when they came to open water made canoes and embarked. Well might Father Vimont call the Iroquois 'the scourge of this infant Church.' They burned, hacked, and devoured the neophytes; exterminated whole villages at once, destroyed the nations whom the fathers hoped to convert, and ruined that sure ally of the missions, the fur trade. Not the most hideous nightmare of a fevered brain could transcend in horror the real and waking perils with which they beset the paths of these intrepid priests."

About five months have elapsed since Father Jogues escaped from the Mohawks. It is early in April, and the needs of the Huron mission are very pressing, for no succor had reached them for three years. Starting early with supplies, a Huron flotilla is pushing its way westward through the perils of floating ice, hoping to pass from the St. Lawrence into the safer waters of the more distant Ottawa before the Iroquois shall have struck the northern war-paths. Father Joseph Bressani, six young Huron converts and a French boy constitute the party. Reaching the fatal spot where Father Jogues was seized, twenty-seven Iroquois suddenly issue from a covert, attack and seize them. Thanking the sun for their victory they plunder the canoes, cut up, roast and devour a slain Huron, and start for the Mohawk region. Passing over Lake Champlain, Bressani is driven barefoot over the rough and rocky road that Jogues traveled before him. He is beaten, mangled, mutilated, scourged by whole villages, runs fearful guantlets, has his hands split open and his fingers hacked off; is hung by his feet with a chain; is burned, pricked, gashed, and endures the most excruciating torments—only a little less refined, however, than those of the papal inquisitions. "Yet some mysterious

awe," says Bancroft, "protected his life, and he, too, was at last humanely rescued by the Dutch."

A year after the capture of Father Bressani, the French, still anxious to secure possession of the Iroquois country, seek a treaty of peace with the Five Nations. A meeting is held at Three Rivers, in 1645, at which Couture, the lay-Jesuit captured with Father Jogues, in the dress of an Iroquois, is present, exerting great influence with his adopted Indian friends. Jogues and Bressani, who remained only a short time in Europe, are also in the council. All agree to smooth the forest path and hide the tomahawk. The Iroquois say, "Let the sun shine on all the land between us." The Algonquins join in the agreement. "There is peace" says Parkman, "in the dark and blood-stained wilderness. The lynx, the panther and the wolf, have made a covenant of love; but who will be their surety?"

The Iroquois ambassadors acted, without doubt, in sincerity, but the wayward, capricious, and ungoverned nature of the Indian parties to the treaty, and the fact that the Mohawks alone had represented the Confederacy, made it desirable that further steps should be taken to ratify the covenant. Couture had returned to winter among the Mohawks, that he might exert his influence to hold them to their pledges; but an agent of more acknowledged weight, one, too, who knows their language and character well, must be sent. All things pointed to Father Jogues as the man, and it was proposed that the errand should be "half political and half religious; for not only was he to be a bearer of gifts, wampum belts and messages from the governor, but he was also to found a new mission, christened in advance with a prophetic name, *The Mission of the Martyrs.*" *

"For two years past Jogues has been at Montreal, and it is here that he receives the order of his superior to proceed to the Mohawk towns. At first nature asserts itself, and he recoils involuntarily at the thought of the horrors of which his scarred body and mutilated hands are a living memento. It is a transient weakness, and he prepares to depart with more than willingness, giving thanks to Heaven that he has been found worthy to suffer and die for the saving of souls and the greater glory of God." *

In company with Sieur Bourdon, the governor's engineer, Jogues departs. They are hospitably received; the peace is ratified, and they return to Quebec through a tranquil wilderness.

But the Mohawks have requested a missionary, asking particularly

* Packman's *History of the Jesuits in North America*, p. 298.

for Jogues himself. In anticipation of that result, on his visit he left behind his trunk containing the sacred vessels. But indications of the bad faith of the Iroquois already appear, making the question of his return a very serious one. His superior holds a council. Political as well as religious considerations enter into the question, for France looks to the conquest of the territory of New York, and the Church must prepare the way. After full deliberation Jogues receives orders to repair to that dangerous post. "I shall go, but shall never return," are his prophetic farewell words. On the 24th of August, 1646, five days before Druellett's departure for the Abenakis mission, with dark forebodings, Jogues sets out for the dreaded Mohawk country, accompanied by a young lay-brother, Lalande, and several Huron converts. On their way they meet Indians who warn them of a change of feeling in the Mohawk towns, and the Hurons, alarmed, refused to advance further; but Jogues, naturally the most timid man in the company, and the devoted Lalande, proceed on their way. Arriving among the Mohawks they find the rumors true. They are immediately seized, stripped, and treated as prisoners. A pestilence had ravaged the cabins, and caterpillars had devoured the crops of the canton, which, in their superstition, the Indians attribute to the mysterious trunk Jogues left behind, and no protestations or explanations will avail. He is condemned as an enchanter, notwithstanding some remonstrated and stood firm for the Frenchmen. A savage crowd assembles, beating them with sticks and fists. "You shall die to-morrow, but you shall not be burned," they cry; "you shall die by our hatchets." In vain does Father Jogues plead that he is not an enemy. Deaf to all reason, they commence the work of butchery. Cutting thin strips of flesh from his arms and back, they say, "Let us see if this white flesh is that of an Otki." "I am but a man like yourselves," replies the fearless confessor, "though I fear not death nor your tortures." Tranquil in spirit he approaches the cabin where the death festival is held, and in passing through the door, receives the death-blow.

Thus died Isaac Jogues. Among the sons of Loyola no purer or more illustrious example of virtue and sublime devotion has been seen. The founder of the Mohawk mission, his sufferings, rather than his labors, give him the most prominent place in its annals.

Such were the New York Indians whom the Jesuits at Quebec sought to convert to the papacy and make subservient to the accomplishment of their schemes; but these powerful tribes proved to be the bulwarks raised up by Providence, and stationed all along

that long line of the State of New York, for the protection of Protestant colonies against the machinations of the papacy. It would be interesting to sketch the attempts of the Jesuits in the seventeenth century to found missions among this people. It would furnish many thrilling pages, examples of heroic adventure, sublime endurance, and lofty devotion, but all in vain. The failure frustrated a gigantic political scheme of territorial extension, and saved the continent to Protestantism.

Section 2.—The English in Maryland.

As early as 1570, the attention of the Jesuits in Florida was called to the region of the Chesapeake, and eight priests were sent to found a mission there; but they encountered the implacable hatred of the natives, and all soon perished by violence. More than sixty years passed before the attempt was renewed. In the meantime, Roman Catholic missions and settlements had been founded in the south, from Florida to the Pacific, and in the north, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lake Huron. Hitherto no colony of English Roman Catholics had been undertaken; but the way was preparing.

The Jesuits, intent upon securing the continent to the papacy, seem to have determined to insert a wedge between the Protestant colonies in Virginia and those of New York and New England. If successful it would ultimately secure to them the great Atlantic coast region, which had fallen out of the hands of the papal nations. With a Catholic colony in the center, and the steadily encroaching lines of the Spanish Jesuits in the south and the French Jesuits in the north, and the cherished antagonism of the Indians against the English, they shrewdly calculated to gain the desired end. But if such a colony were planted it is evident that it must be composed of English papists, for England was in possession of the coast from Nova Scotia to Florida. What subtle hand shall direct the scheme? Let us see.

Father Andrew White was born in London in 1579, and educated at Douai, in a college instituted to train priests for England. On receiving orders he was sent to London to exercise his ministry in secrecy, as the penal laws then made necessary. This he was not long allowed to do, but with forty-six others was sentenced to perpetual banishment. Forced to retire to the continent, he resolved to enter the Society of Jesus, and, at the close of his

novitiate, returned to England. After ten years in London he was called to a professor's chair in the Jesuit college near Seville. But in a few years this eminent Jesuit returned again to England, and became an intimate acquaintance and adviser of Lord Baltimore.

Sir George Calvert, a member of the Privy Council of James I., abjured Anglicanism and relinquished his positions at court. His sovereign, intent upon retaining his services, made him a peer of Ireland, under the title of Lord Baltimore. He solicited and obtained a grant of territory on the coast of America, with a charter allowing freedom of worship to Roman Catholics. On the death of Lord Baltimore, his oldest son Cecil proving incompetent to execute his plan, it was committed to another son, Leonard.

Accompanied by Father Andrew White, Father John Altham, and two lay brothers, the expedition sailed from England Nov. 22d, 1633, with St. Ignatius as their chosen patron. On the 3d of March, the day of the Feast of the Annunciation, they reached the mouth of the Chesapeake. Landing on Blackstone Island, they offered the sacrifice of the mass, raised the cross as a trophy to Christ, and chanted on bended knees the litany of the cross.

From the friendly Yoacomico and his tribe, a site was purchased for the city of St. Mary's, and a wigwam for a chapel. Missions were established among the Indians, the Conestogues being the dominant tribe. Father White prepared a grammar, dictionary, and catechism in the Indian dialect. Many difficulties were encountered; some priests died; but others arrived in 1635 and 1636. Missions were established at Mettapany, on Kent Island and Kittamaquindi. Chilomacon, the chief, received Father White cordially, and installed him in his own lodge, where the missionary taught the dogmas of the Church. The chief and his braves were deeply impressed, and renounced polygamy.

In a general council, the chief and his family abandoned their ancient superstitions, accepted Christ, and received baptism. Indian wars sometimes interrupted, but the mission went on, and new missionaries came from England. Under a wise administration the dreary wilderness was converted into a prosperous colony.

It was not long, however, before they suffered from the opposition of the Virginia planters, which cast a gloom over their history. The civil war in England, the defeat of the papal party, and the enactment of severe laws against them, produced not a little disquietude and commotion in the Maryland Colony.

In 1644, Clayborne, the evil genius, raised a rebellion, expelled

the governor, and the next year sent off the priests prisoners to England. After an absence of three years they returned. But a new storm soon arose; the priests were under the ban of condemnation, and could officiate only in secret. The Indian missions in Maryland were then closed forever.

Freedom of Religion.

From the beginning, the Maryland Colony was characterized by a broader and more liberal religious policy than any other, until the settlement of Pennsylvania, about fifty years later. Lord Baltimore and his associates have been highly praised for the constitutional guarantees in form of religious liberty. It is probable, however, that the conditions of the grant to the original proprietors required the toleration of all those religious bodies which were allowed by the crown at home. An eminent Roman Catholic writer, De Courcey,* has taken this view. But, to whatever the toleration of the Protestants by the Catholic colony of Maryland is due, it is, nevertheless, the just verdict of impartial history, that, "under the enlightened policy of Lord Baltimore, the colony steadily advanced in prosperity, increasing both in comfort and in numbers. Roman Catholics and Protestants alike found protection and security, and lived in harmony." †

Toward the close of that century, the Catholics fell into a minority, and, in 1704, bishops and priests were prohibited by law from saying mass and exercising other spiritual functions, except in private houses. They also suffered from other oppressive enactments. No churches were allowed to be built, and, at the time of the Revolution their priests numbered only twenty. ‡

Section 3.—The French on the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley.

Upon the rugged picturesque peninsula interlocked by Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, a region varied by undulations, tablelands, and mountains, rigorous in climate, rich in minerals and furs, and abounding in streams, rapids and water-falls, two great aboriginal races met. The fierce Dahcotas or Sioux, called by the Jesuits

* *History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* By Henry De Courcey. New York. Edward Dunigan & Bro., 1857, p. 30.

† *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland.* By Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., New York. 1839. By John S. Taylor, p 30.

‡ See a fuller statement in the chapter on the Church and State in the Colonies—Intolerance in Maryland.

"the Iroquois of the West," traversing the vast wilds from the Rocky Mountains, had pushed forward their Winnebago tribe and established their eastern outpost on the Green Bay of Lake Michigan; and the Algonquins, roaming through all the region above Lake Erie and Lake Ontario as far east as Nova Scotia, were represented in their western outpost by the Ottawas and the Chippeways, on the southern shore of Lake Superior. In this wild paradise of hunters, dwelt the Ojibways, the Menominees, the Foxes, and the Kikapoos. The Ottawas, or *traders*, the most numerous and enterprising of all, became known to the French by their fur-trading with the Hurons. At this point also the Illinois and other prairie tribes met in their annual fishing excursions. Such was the commercial importance of this locality, and its value also for political and missionary purposes.

Jean Nichollet.

Almost a century after De Soto's famous ill-fated expedition into the lower valley of the Mississippi, a French explorer, sent out as an ambassador to the western tribes, reached the banks of the Wisconsin. Jean Nichollet, a Roman Catholic layman, had been twenty years in Canada, was familiar with all the Algonquin tribes, and had spent eight years among the Nipissings, north-east of the land of the Hurons. Here he became an Indian in his habits, and heard wonderful stories of a remarkable people in the far West, whom he conjectured might be the Chinese, said to come to trade with tribes beyond the great lakes. The curiosity of this hardy pioneer was excited, and he longed to penetrate that fabulous region.

He first returned to civilization, took the sacraments of the Church, and was commissioned to negotiate a peace between the Winnebagos and the Hurons. Years spent in Algonquin cabins had fitted him to travel in safety those wild regions, and in 1639, having reached the land of the Hurons, he started upon a voyage of three hundred leagues into the still more distant wilderness. Filled with visions of Mandarin grandeur, he had provided himself with "a robe of Chinese damask, embroidered with birds and flowers." Approaching the Winnebago town, he sent an Indian messenger "to announce his coming, put on his robe of damask, and advanced to meet the expectant crowd with a pistol in each hand. The squaws and children fled, screaming that it is a *manito* or *spirit* armed with thunder and lightning; but the chiefs and warriors regaled him with so bountiful a hospitality that a hundred and twenty beavers were devoured at a single feast." Passing westward,

he ascended the Fox River, crossed to the Wisconsin, and floated for some distance toward the Mississippi, without, however, fully understanding the character of that river. He returned to Quebec. This was the boldest exploit of the hardiest pioneer in the annals of New France.

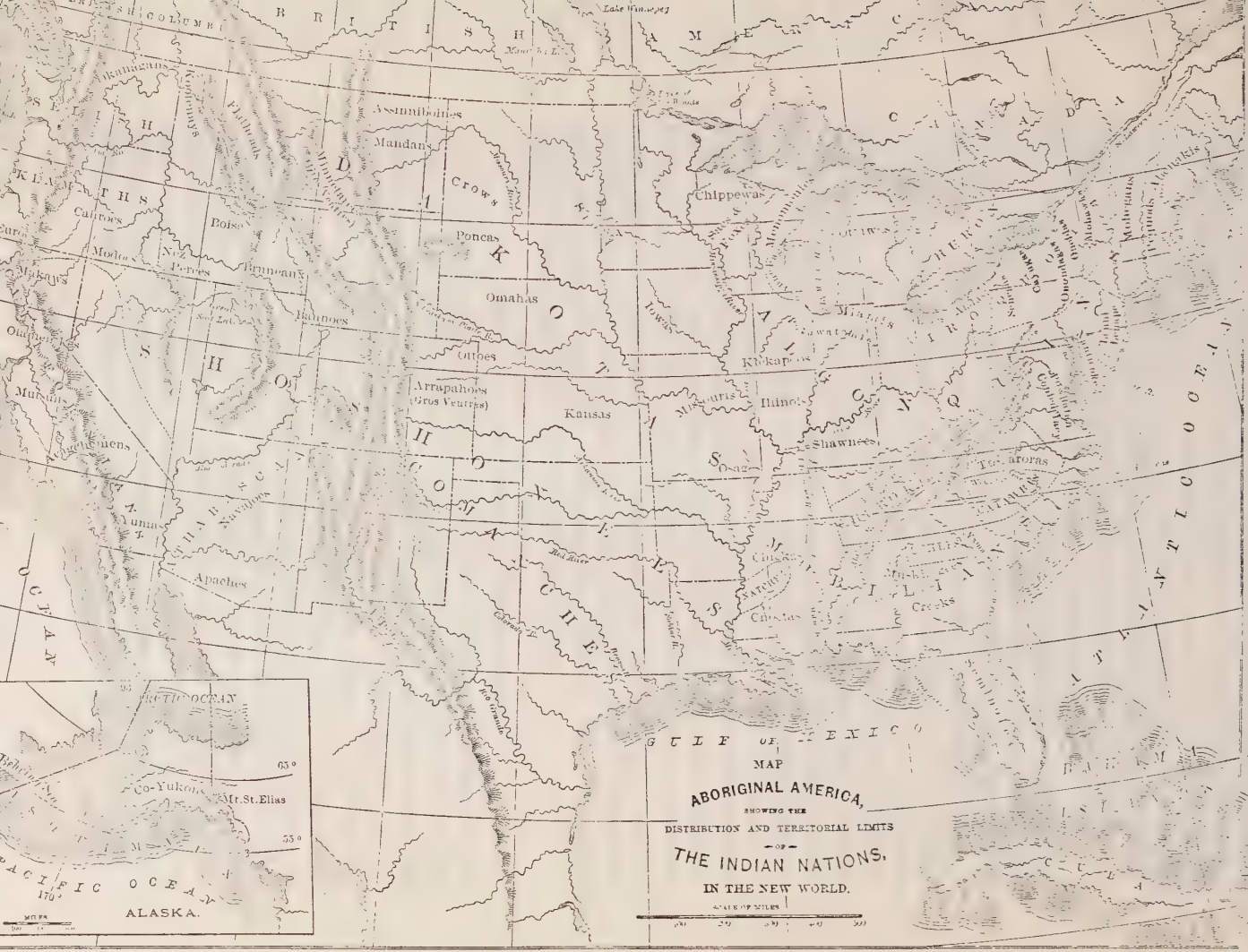
In 1641, at the request of the Chippeways visiting the Hurons, Fathers Jogues and Raymbault, eager to extend the conquests of their faith, launched their canoes and started for the home of this tribe at the outlet of Lake Superior. For seventeen days, over the crystal waters of those great inland seas, fringed with picturesque scenery and gemmed with beautiful islands, those zealous envoys of France and the cross pursued their toilsome way. At the Falls of St. Mary, a point nearly equidistant by traveled route from Quebec, on the east, and Santa Fé, the nearest Catholic mission, on the west; amid joyful greetings, they proclaimed the faith to two thousand Ottawas and Chippeways; and, from this remote outlook of the Church, gazed with awe upon the magnificent savage solitudes stretching in unmeasured distances around them. They were urged to remain, but, obedient to the instructions of their superior, they returned, Raymbault, worn and emaciated by disease, to die at Quebec, and Jogues to suffer horrid tortures and martyrdom in the dark land of the treacherous Mohawks.

Some years passed. The importance of the Lake Superior region for both commercial and missionary purposes was fully estimated. Missionaries were sent forth, but they were destroyed by the savage Iroquois. For several years these powerful, bloodthirsty warriors were every-where above the lakes, from Quebec to Michigan, and travel was dangerous. The Jesuits waited for two things —tranquillity in the wilderness and a fitting man.

Claudius Allouez.

In 1665, Claudius Allouez embarked for the upper lakes, and spent twenty-five years among the Indians in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Rowing along the southern shores of Lake Superior, with its alternating scenery of forests, fertile plains, reed-covered marshes, stupendous piles of drifting sands, towering cliffs of "pictured sandstone," and "erect columns, covered with fantastic entablatures," he celebrated the mass and consecrated those rugged wilds to Christ and his king.

He erected an Indian Church, amid many struggles with superstitition and vice. The natives revered the lakes, the rapids, the beetling cliffs, and even the metals, as gods, and talked indefinitely


MAP
ABORIGINAL AMERICA,
SHOWING THE
DISTRIBUTION AND TERRITORIAL LIMITS
OF
THE INDIAN NATIONS,
IN THE NEW WORLD.
SCALE OF MILES
ALASKA.
Mt.St.Elias
Assiniboines
Mandans
Crows
Chippewas
Poncas
Omahas
Otoes
Kickapoos
Arrapahoes
(Gros Ventres)
Kansas
Missouris
Illinois
Shawnees
Osages
Apaches
Creeks
Chickasas
Choctas
Natchez
Comanches
Caddoes
Pawnees
Kaskaskias
Miamies
Delawares
Senecas
Iroquois
Mohawks
Shoshonees
Utahs
Navajoes
Pimas
Yumas
Mohaves
Cahuillos
Diggers
Digueños
Flatheads
Nez Percés
Cayuses
Modocs
Klamaths
Snakes
Bannocks
Blackfeet
Crees
Knisteneaux
Athapuscows
Dog Ribs
Hare Indians
Loucheux
Esquimaux
Lake Winnipeg
Red River
Colorado R.
Rio Grande
Gulf of Mexico
Pacific Ocean
Atlantic Ocean
Arctic Ocean
Longitude West from Greenwich
115
110
105
100
95
90
85
80
75
65°
55°
170°

of "the great Messipi," as a wild chimera, but an object of adoration. Some faithful ones consoled him with their constancy and fervor. A choir of Chippeways chanted the Pater and the Ave; and from many a tribe the wandering hunters came to listen and to wonder. For more than twenty different tribes—the Hurons, scattered and disconsolate; the Ottawas and Chippeways, from the fishing regions; the Sacs and Foxes, from the country of the beaver and deer; the Sioux, from the great buffalo plains beyond the Mississippi; the Pottawattomies, from the deep unexplored recesses of lower Michigan; and the Illinois, from the broad fertile prairies by "the Great River"—he lighted the torch of faith. From them he learned the story of the "Messipi," and longed to gaze upon the great father of waters and traverse its immense tributary valley.

Allouez was deeply impressed with his surroundings. The well-authenticated narratives of the mammoth rivers, the broad alluvial prairies, the gigantic forests, the rich mineral deposits, the countless herds of wild animals, the innumerable bands of pagan Indians, the entrancing beauty of the scenery, and the magnificent vastness of the new mission region excited in his mind the most romantic conceptions of the grand, the sublime, and the infinite, aroused his deepest sympathies for humanity, and stimulated to the formation of political, social and religious schemes, commensurate with the vast possibilities of this great continental center, the key of the richest heritage of North America. Filled with such enthusiastic conceptions, he returned to Quebec, reporting the facts of the situation. Re-enforcements were sent to this region—Fathers Nicholas, Marquette, Dablon, and later, Druellettes and André.

France in the Heart of the Continent.

In 1670, Talon, the governor of the Canadas, determined to formally extend the power of France into the depths of the western wilderness, and sent Daumont de St. Lusson and fifteen men to take possession of it for his king. Messages were sent to all the great western tribes to meet at the Falls of St. Mary. In the spring of 1671 representatives of fourteen tribes arrived, and on the morning of the 14th of June, on the top of a hill designated, a crowd of Indians stood or crouched or reclined at length, with eyes and ears intent, as a large cross was erected, and the Frenchmen sang the *Vexilla Regis.* St. Lusson, with a loud voice, "In the name of the most high, mighty, and redoubted monarch, Louis XIV., king of France and Navarre," took possession of the place, and all the "rivers, lakes, and streams contiguous and adjacent thereto, both

those which have been discovered and those which may be discovered hereafter, in all their length and breadth, bounded on the one side by the seas of the North and of the West, and on the other by the South Sea," etc.

Thus was the standard of France planted in the heart of the American Continent, in the midst of its ancient races. "Yet," says Bancroft, "this daring ambition of the servants of a military monarch was destined to leave no abiding monument; this echo of the Middle Ages, to pass away."

In this field the Jesuits began to appear in a character somewhat different. "The epoch of saints and martyrs," says Parkman, "was passing away; and henceforth we find the Canadian Jesuit less and less an apostle, and more and more an explorer, a man of science, and a politician."

The Mississippi Valley.

The next move was the boldest of all. The Jesuits seized the great arteries of the North American Continent.

The hardy Nichollet, adventurer and ambassador, and the sagacious Allouez, pioneer and priest, had opened the pathway of France and the papacy as far as Lake Winnebago, and even to the banks of the Wisconsin; and the Congress of the great western valley tribes at the Falls of St. Mary had prepared the way for more extensive exploration, commerce, and civilization. In the vast and vague domain on that important occasion by solemn announcement claimed for France, the grandest object was the Mississippi, indefinitely shadowed forth in the weird stories of the red men as a mysterious stream, rising far in the north, and flowing southward, they knew not whither. To explore it, and establish a post on the southern waters, hemming in the English on the Atlantic coast, was the bold policy of France. This great region was an unknown world. Roving tribes had vaguely described it; but who shall penetrate its wild solitudes?

Father Marquette.

James Marquette, at the age of seventeen, entered the Order of the Jesuits, and, after twelve years of study and teaching, came to Canada, and labored in the missions at the Falls of St. Mary and at Mackinaw. He was described as gentle and self-forgetful, of superior linguistic abilities, and of no mean tact in diplomacy. His name stands high on the entablature of Jesuit missions as a pioneer and explorer. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception commanded

his absorbing devotion. It was mentioned in all his letters; and, like a subtle element of romance, it imaged to his mind the Virgin in forms of transcendent loveliness, inspiring him in the harsh realities of his daily life, and stimulating him to chivalrous achievements. From this sublime passion was born an ardent desire for discovery, that he might consecrate new domains to his celestial mistress. Early visiting the lands of the treacherous Foxes, successfully conducting valuable negotiations with the implacable Sioux, and studying the mixed dialects of the Illinois more fully than any other Jesuit father, he had learned the story of the Mississippi, and prepared himself to communicate with the numerous tribes upon its banks.

Louis Joliet.

Louis Joliet, son of a wagon-maker in Quebec, educated by the Jesuits for the priesthood but, declining the clerical vocation, became a fur-trader, explored the copper mines of Lake Superior, and was commissioned with Marquette to discover the Mississippi.

Passing up the lakes to Mackinaw, Joliet found Marquette eagerly anticipating the journey. With five companions, and a a simple outfit of two birch canoes, smoked meat, and Indian corn, on the 17th of May they began their voyage "under the protection of the Holy Virgin Immaculate," to whom, in advance, they consecrated their discoveries. Paddling along the west shores of Lake Michigan they reached the Menominee, and ascended the stream to an Indian village, where they announced their intentions. The boldness of the project astonished even the wild men, who endeavored to restrain the adventurers by stories of ferocious tribes along the great river, of frightful monsters in the stream, and a fierce demon in its far-off waters, whose terrific roar could be heard at a great distance. Disregarding these appeals to their fears, they pushed on. Green Bay, Lake Winnebago, and Fox River, with its rapids, quiet meanderings, and wild rice marshes, were successively passed, until they reached the celebrated portage.

The Mystic Center of the Continent.

Here in this mystic centre of the great continent, where the flowing waters divide—to the St. Lawrence, on the one hand, and to the Gulf of Mexico, on the other—they carried their canoes upon their shoulders for a mile and a half, and launched them upon the Wisconsin. Dismissing their guides, the adventurers were solely in the hands of Providence. Down the tranquil stream, by islands, bluffs, forests, marshes, and prairies—"the parks and pleasure-

grounds of a prodigal nature"—they glided, bivouacing at night on the shores under their inverted canoes.

The 17th of June was a memorable day in their career. Looking expectantly ahead, what is it that greets their gaze? At the foot of lofty heights thickly wrapped in forests a wide and rapid current courses athwart their way.

The Mississippi River Discovered.

What can be the name of this great stream? Is it indeed the Mississippi, the object of their search? It is. We see them, for a few moments, gazing at the mysterious river, their souls filling with delight, and then, under an impulse of inexpressible joy, urging their light barks into its calm, strong waters. In fulfillment of an oft-repeated vow to the Virgin Mary, Marquette gives to the stream the name of "Conception River." But no papal saint was destined to be the patroness of the Father of Waters; and the Indian name has ever prevailed.

Down this magnificent stream Marquette and Joliet floated, rapturously contemplating its mysterious possibilities; passing broad sand-bars, enlivened by sporting waterfowl, islands tufted with massive thickets, natural parks and fertile prairies clothed with rich summer verdure, and deep solitudes locked in the embrace of primeval slumbers. They passed the mouth of the Illinois, the fantastic rocks of "The Ruined Castles," the boiling, surging, muddy torrent of the Missouri, and the beautiful Ohio, until they reached the Arkansas. Convinced by conversations with the natives that the Mississippi emptied not, as they had supposed, into the Gulf of California, but into the Gulf of Mexico, and fearing that some fatality might befall them, and the results of their discoveries be lost, they resolved to return to Canada and report what they had seen. They began their homeward voyage, on the 17th of July, taking a shorter route, by the Illinois River to Lake Michigan.

La Salle's Explorations.

In prodigious contrast with the gentle, single-hearted, unpretending Marquette, stands the bold, self-reliant, invincible La Salle—the one a beautiful example of mediæval saintship, and an unquestioning imitator of Loyola and Xavier, and the other, a man of ideas and progress, with "the energies of modern practical enterprise." Educated by the Jesuits, and a candidate for their Society, he soon withdrew from them, his strong personality, that could

obey no initiative but its own, revolting from their relentless iron system, which made every member the passive instrument of another's will. Parting on friendly terms, he sailed for Montreal and devoted himself to a life of adventure. After some years of wild vicissitudes, we find him projecting a voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, that he may claim and colonize those marvelous regions for his king, He was formally commissioned for the enterprise.

Four years of reverses and struggles followed, taxing to the utmost his adamantine fortitude. At last, he embarked upon the great river, followed its winding channel, descended its turbid eddies, received the welcome of wandering tribes along its banks, until its waters grew bitter, the roar of the sea-surf was heard, and the broad Gulf of Mexico opened upon his vision. The goal of his eagle imagination was reached, and on the 9th of April, 1682, the Valley of the Mississippi, by solemn proclamation, was formally added to the domains of Louis XIV., King of France and Navarre.

La Salle returned by the river, reached Quebec, and hastened to France to report his discovery. With a fleet of four vessels and two hundred and eighty persons he sailed for the mouth of the Mississippi. The ill-fated expedition was overwhelmed with disasters on the coast of Texas, and the iron-hearted discoverer, while trying to make his way across the country to Quebec, was fatally shot by a traitorous comrade. For force of will, vast conceptions, and quick adaptation to untried circumstances, this daring adventurer had no superior among Frenchmen. He was the father of colonization in the great valley of the West.

Louisiana Founded.

A new era in the history of these missions was ushered in by the establishment of a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The honor of the achievements belongs to an illustrious Canadian.

Born in the midst of the papal fervors at Montreal, Lemoine D'Iberville, early in life, became a zealous champion of the old Régime in Canada, and an active promoter of the vast schemes for the extension of French dominion in America. A volunteer in the midnight attack on Schenectady, the captor of Pemmaquid, the commander of an expedition which wrested Fort Nelson and the Indian trade of those regions from the English, the successful invader of the English possessions in Newfoundland, and a second time, in spite of icebergs and shipwreck, a victor in naval contests,

on the gloomy waters of the Hudson Bay, he was esteemed the most skillful naval officer in the service of France, and the most suitable person to undertake the colonizing of the lower Mississippi. On the 17th of October, 1698, he sailed from France with four vessels and 200 colonists, and, after various delays, on the 2d of March, guided by floating trees and turbid waters, he entered the mouth of the great river. At the head of Biloxi Bay he erected a fort, as a testimony of French jurisdiction from Pensacola to the Rio Del Norte, and left his two brothers in command. He returned to France for re-enforcements, and in the year 1700 established a colony about thirty-eight miles below the present city of New Orleans.

In the year 1700 Tonti came down from Arkansas, under whose guidance the D'Iberville brothers ascended the river, made peace with the tribes on its banks, and established a post at Natchez. Montigny, a man of vast designs and boundless zeal, newly invested as vicar-general of the missions in the Mississippi Valley under the direction of the Bishop of Quebec, came from the St. Lawrence with greetings for their brethren on the Gulf. Western Louisiana was explored, and the valley of the Red River far toward the confines of New Mexico. Jesuit fathers accompanied Louisiana colonists, and their missions among the Taenas, the Tonicas, the Natchez, the Arkansas, and the Oumas were coeval with the settlement. Zeal, however, did not command success. Like other missions, some of these were baptized with blood, and, in the first thirty years, five missionaries fell by violence.

Jesuit Missions.

Jesuit missions followed closely in the path of exploration, in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The germ of the Louisiana Colony, securely planted in the year 1700, gradually rose in importance. Illinois became subject to it, and its missions were subject to the Superior of the Jesuits at New Orleans, and those north-east of Illinois to the Superior at Quebec. Thus established at the mouth of the Mississippi and on the St. Lawrence the two extremities of this French-American domain, the next part of the scheme was to fill the intervening solitudes with missions, forts, and settlements. They were distributed with admirable skill, guarding the lakes, streams, and thoroughfares of the wilderness. But they lacked elements of permanence. "Agriculture was neglected for the more congenial pursuit of the fur trade, and the

restless, roving Canadians, scattered abroad on their wild vocation, allied themselves to Indian women, and filled the woods with a mongrel race of bush-rangers."* The Jesuits were every-where present; many Indian tribes were converted to the papal faith, and, in process of time, their dusky neophytes descended the river to New Orleans, reciting beads, and chanting prayers and hymns. Two Illinois chiefs, Chicago and Mamantonenza, went to France.

As the people multiplied the soil received more attention, and, about 1746, six hundred barrels of flour, besides hides, tallow, wax, and honey, were shipped from the Wabash country alone to New Orleans annually. The condition of morals was low, as might be expected from the strange mixture of the population: fur-traders, a hare-brained, reckless class; vagabond Indians and easy-tempered Creoles, a debauched and drunken rabble. Such was the condition of these early communities, after many years of Jesuit influence. The intrepidity and enterprise of the Jesuits have drawn forth our encomiums, but the moral results were meager and full of blemishes. Copious lists of conversions were reported, but they were reckoned by the number of baptisms, and La Clercq observes, "an Indian would be baptized ten times a day for a pint of brandy or a pound of tobacco." Crucifixes and medals were beautiful trinkets which pleased his fancy, but his heart was as thoroughly unchanged as when he wore a "necklace of the dried fingers of his enemies."

But "the lilies of France" grew where the cross declined. The Jesuits reported the movements of Indian tribes, won them to French allegiance, and fostered their hatred of the English. A single Jesuit missionary was sometimes counted by the government as "equal to ten regiments."

Notwithstanding the unparalleled facilities and resources of the Mississippi Valley, these settlements possessed in themselves no impulse of growth, so thriftless were the populations. In the middle of the last century the missions were stagnant, if not declining. The inconstancy of the French Government at home, and the mismanagement in Louisiana affected the whole valley. With these things came the French and Indian wars, from 1755 to 1763, the defeat of France, and the surrender of all her territory east of the Mississippi, including all the Canadas, to England, and west of the river, to Spain. The wars of the Revolution and of Pontiac followed. Thus in rapid succession the flags of France, England and the United States floated over the Valley of the West.

* Parkman.

Section 4.—Resumé of Papal Movements.

In Florida.—We have before noticed * that, early in the seventeenth century, villages of converts directed by Franciscans existed along the Apalachicola, Flint and other rivers. But the English colonies planted in the Carolinas rapidly extended their bounds. Conflict arose with their Spanish neighbors and also with the Indians, resulting disastrously to the missions. Indian wars followed, and when Charlevoix visited this region, in 1722, many of the missions had been abandoned, and the influence of the others had seriously waned.

"From this period, few details of the missions have reached us, down to the time when Spain ceded Florida to England by the treaty of Paris (1763). This was the death-blow of the missions. The Franciscans, with most of the Spanish settlers, left the colony; the Indians, who occupied two towns under the walls of St. Augustine, were expelled from the grounds cultivated by their toil for years, and deprived of the church which they had themselves erected. All was given by the governor to the newly-established English Church. In ten years no native was left near the city. The Indians thus driven out became wanderers, and received the name Seminoles, which has that meaning. By degrees all traces of their former civilization and Christianity disappeared, and they have since been known only by their bitter hatred of the successors of the Spaniards." †

When the Spaniards left Florida, the English found little to possess but the country. "The whole number of its inhabitants," says Bancroft,‡ "men, women, children and servants, was three thousand; and of these the men were nearly all in the pay of the Catholic king. The possession of it had cost him nearly two hundred and thirty thousand dollars annually; and now, as a compensation for Havana, he made over to England the territory which occasioned this fruitless expense. Most of the people, receiving from the Spanish treasury indemnity for their losses, migrated to Cuba, taking with them the bones of their saints and the ashes of their distinguished dead, leaving at St. Augustine their houses of stone, and even the graves without occupants."

Texas.—The missions in Texas during the earlier period were not successful. In 1688, fourteen Franciscan priests and seven lay-

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* See Chapter I of *Colonial Era.*

† Shea's *History of Roman Catholic Missions Among the Indians*, p. 75.

‡ Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Centennial Edition. Vol. III, p. 403.

brothers, with fifty soldiers under Don Domingo Teran, entered this region and founded eight missions. Two fathers, a lay-brother, several families of civilized Indians from Mexico, a supply of stock and agricultural implements, and a small guard of soldiers as a protection, were assigned to each mission. One father attended exclusively to spiritual affairs, and the other taught agriculture and the various arts of life. Indians joining the colony were instructed, and their labor went to the common stock, from which they drew food, clothing, etc. When capable of self-direction, fields were allotted to them and houses erected. If single, they were urged to select wives from the Christian women. Each mission thus grew to a village, Spaniards and Indians intermarrying. Reverses soon came—crops failed, cattle died, the soldiers became offensive, and the field was abandoned. The missions were re-established in 1717, but abandoned again in two years. Between 1721 and 1746, missions were established in the center of Texas and extended northward to the borders of New Mexico. These missions continued until within the present century, when the country was unsettled by the Anglo-American colonization, the revolt of Texas, etc.

New Mexico.—We have previously noticed that, in 1608, eight thousand Indians in New Mexico had received the papal faith, and in 1626 the twenty-seventh Roman Catholic mission was founded in that country. Villaseñor, in 1748, gave a flattering picture of the state of this country. The Indians were clothed with materials woven by women, and industry was the prevailing habit, rewarded with peace and plenty. Religious edifices of a high order, "even rivaling those of Europe," had been erected, and the people were not much inferior to their Spanish neighbors. Twenty-two missions averaged one hundred families each. The political changes which more recently occurred have not seriously affected the condition of the Roman Catholic Church. Since the cession of the country to the United States, New Mexico has been made a vicarate apostolic, and finally a bishopric, by the erection of the see of Santa Fé.

The first *California* missions were founded on the peninsula, from which point, at a later period, they were extended into the more northern portion. The Jesuits and the Franciscans shared in the former, but the Franciscans alone achieved the latter. Father Juniper Serra, an Italian Franciscan, the apostle of the missions in Upper California, was early trained in the missions of Mexico. With the assistance of eleven brothers of his order, on the 16th of July, 1769, he founded the mission of San Diego, in a long, narrow

valley, formed by chains of parallel hills embosoming a delightful prairie. Favorable omens encouraged the missionaries, and buildings were erected; but just as they were congratulating themselves upon the prospects they were attacked by the Indians and six persons were killed, among whom was Father Viscaino. Amicable relations were soon restored and the mission continued. The establishment of another mission at San Carlos, in 1770, occasioned great joy and the ringing of bells in the City of Mexico. Thirty new auxiliaries were immediately sent to the missions, the Dominicans also asking permission to enter the promising field. Proceeding to a beautiful site on the River San Antonio, in the bosom of Sierra Santa Lucia, where a towering cañada encircles the stream, on the 14th of July, 1771, Father Serra founded the mission of St. Anthony of Padua, in the wide territory of the Telames. The missions of San Gabriel and San Luis Obispo were soon after planted.

A bloody Indian massacre occurred in 1775, and the mission of San Diego was the scene. A thousand Indians attacked and pillaged the mission, and many fell, among whom was Father Louis Jayme, whose body was terribly hacked and mangled. "Thank God! the field is watered!" exclaimed the intrepid Serra, as he proceeded, though broken in health, to inspire his co-laborers. After a short delay San Diego rose from its ruins. The mission of San Francisco was founded June 27, 1776, at the time when the Continental Congress was discussing the great question of American Independence. Other missions were commenced at Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San José, San Miguel, etc., etc., and the Indian converts were soon numbered by thousands.

The *Indian* missions of the Roman Catholics in the North were numerous. Missions among the Hurons began in 1615, among the Iroquois and Ottaways in 1642; the Winnebagos, at Green Bay, in 1660; the Chippeways in 1661; the Sioux, west of Lake Superior, in 1661; the Miamis in 1680. Sault St. Mary, Mackinaw and Green Bay were mission centers for many years. Father Gravier, a distinguished Jesuit, was superior of the missions in Illinois from 1687 to 1706.

EARLY PAPAL MISSIONARIES TO THE INDIANS.*

Indian Tribes.	Number of Missionaries.	Period of Service.	Indian Tribes.	Number of Missionaries.	Period of Service.
Abenakis.....	22	1613 to 1796	Ottaway.....	30	1642 to 1781
Hurons,.....	30	1615 to 1650	Illinois	33	1673 to 1757
Iroquois.....	40	1642 to 1832	Louisiana.....	16	1699 to 1748

* For a full list of these missionaries, with names, dates, etc., see *History of Catholic Missions Among the Indians of North America*, by J. Gilmary Shea. 1857. New York: Edward Dunigan & Bro., pp. 499–502.

Results.

Of the thirty-three missionaries who had entered the Illinois country from the visit of Marquette, in 1673, to 1750, only three or four remained at the latter date.

At this time, also, a deep hostility was rising in Europe against the Jesuits, and the order was formally expelled from France, Naples and Spain in 1763. The French Court confiscated all their property, and the royal officers in New Orleans, without waiting for the king's decree, dispersed the Jesuits at the point of the bayonet, and confiscated their property, appraised at $186,000, prior to February, 1764. Nine years later, this celebrated order was formally suppressed by the pope.

At the close of the French war, more than eighty years had elapsed, of exclusive French and papal sway, since La Salle established his first military post on the Mississippi; but the population of this new and attractive region was very inconsiderable. According to Fraser, as quoted by Bancroft,* there were in Illinois, in 1765, of white men able to bear arms, 700; of white women, 500; of their children, 850; of negroes of both sexes, 900. One hundred and ten French families were at Vincennes and along the banks of the Wabash. At St. Genevieve there were "at least five and twenty families," and at St. Louis "about twice that number." New Orleans, according to the census of 1769, had a population of nearly thirty-two hundred, and Detroit was a village of little more than one hundred houses.

Prior to 1771, Irish Catholics had not settled much in America, only in Pennsylvania and Maryland. Those settling elsewhere generally gave up their religion. A considerable number of German Catholics settled in Pennsylvania, but their priests were few in number. "It is asserted that more than half of the regular troops furnished by Pennsylvania during the war of the Revolution, or, as they are now called, 'the Pennsylvania lines,' were Irish Catholics; from which it may be inferred that, though the Church had suffered enormous losses, . . . it still presented, at the time of the Revolution, an imposing mass, composed in a great measure of Irish, of whom, perhaps, a third were born in Ireland."† The number of Catholic priests in the United States when the Revolution commenced was twenty-six.

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* *History of the United States*, Centennial Edition. Vol. III, p. 511.

† *Letter to the Lyons Propaganda*, by Dr. England, Catholic Bishop of Charleston, S. C. See *Am. Quart. Reg.*, 1841, p. 141.

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH AND STATE.

SEC. 1. Diverse Colonial Constitutions.
" 2. Points of Agreement.
" 3. Religious Limitations.
SEC. 4. Religious Legislation.
" 5. Religious Intolerance.
" 6. General Considerations.

IN the Hebrew theocracy the Church and the State were intimately blended, the latter subject to the former. Ancient paganism was a part of the State and dependent upon it. In both religion had no separate existence. But Christ proclaimed his Church a spiritual kingdom, "not of this world," nor dependent on the civil power, that it might be kept free from worldly limitations and contaminations. In the decline of spiritual Christianity, after the apostolic age, religion became corrupted with paganism and sought alliance with the State. When the empire decayed, the Church advanced her influence by new assumptions of power, organized herself with hierarchical orders and prerogatives, and seized the scepter of supreme dominion. For a thousand years she wielded a more than imperial power.

The great European monarchies which sprang up in the fifteenth century were allies and vassals of the papal Church. The Reformation of the sixteenth century became an established fact over nearly half of Europe, but it brought no deliverance to the Church from its unnatural alliance with the secular power. The reformers, notwithstanding all their sufferings from papal persecution, had no such conception of religious freedom as has since been entertained. Hence, when they separated themselves from Rome, they allied themselves with the civil powers, and availed themselves of the civil arm for the punishment of heresy and the prevention of dissent. The same tendency was every-where visible, among the Lutherans in Germany, the Episcopalians in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland and Geneva. The early religious emigrants to this country came with these ideas, a part of the common heritage of the times. The mutual recognition and support of the Church and State were supposed to be a necessity, and it is doubtful whether

the English Government would have granted colonial charters on any other conditions.

Among the English colonists there were two classes—high churchmen, who were admirers of prelacy, and Puritans, who fled from its oppressions—both members of the Established Church of England; the former settling in the Middle and Southern States, and the latter in New England.* Both of these classes agreed in seeking for the Church the aid of the State, but with marked differences in their methods; the one monarchical, perpetuating the English Church in connection with the English Government, and the other democratic, organizing independent churches on the principle of the equality of the individual members, and in vital union with the local civil power, but disowning ecclesiastical responsibility to English authority. The civil power and patronage, in some form, were every-where felt to be a necessity.

In the present century the question of "Establishment" or "Disestablishment" has enlisted the best thought of Christendom, and prompted careful, anxious and profound inquiries. European statesmen and divines are deeply pondering the problem whether religion is dependent for its prestige, success, and permanency upon the civil power; or whether, if left to itself and to purely voluntary agencies, it will be able to make its influence felt in purifying and elevating society, producing peaceable and orderly citizens, and maintain itself against elements of weakness from within and opposition from without.

In the history of the American churches this problem seems destined to find a solution; for here Christianity has existed under the necessary conditions, and in forms somewhat experimental.† It has already been subjected to a twofold test under diverse conditions—in the colonial and in the national eras. In the latter the churches have sustained only voluntary relations, amid which their progress will be unfolded in the principal part of this volume. In the former they were united with the civil authority in all the older and larger colonies. This will first receive attention.

What was the ecclesiastico-civil situation in the early colonies of the United States?

The civil condition must first be understood. The peculiarities of the colonial governments, their points of difference and agreement, the religious limitations of their constitutions, and the legislation upon religious matters must be carefully considered. It will

* The Pilgrims, or Separatists, were another class. See pp. 28, 29.

† See last chapter in this volume.

then be possible to appreciate the religious progress of the earlier times, the changes which took place after the Revolution, when the relations of the churches to the States were dissolved, and the new conditions of purely voluntary support amid which Christianity has since existed.

Section 1.—The Early Colonial Constitutions.

The thirteen English colonies in North America by whose inhabitants the American Revolution was achieved existed prior to that time as separate communities, with domestic governments, peculiar to themselves, derived from the crown of England. In respect to their civil polity the colonial organizations have been classed as Provincial, Proprietary, and Charter governments.

Provincial or *Royal Governments.* To this class belonged Virginia, New Hampshire, New Jersey, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. In these the organic constitutions were simply "the respective commissions issued by the crown to the governors," and the instructions which accompanied them. By his commission the governor was the appointee and representative of the crown, to which he was responsible. The crown also appointed a council, which to some extent shared in the executive duties with the governor, and also constituted the upper house of the provincial legislature. The lower house consisted of representatives of the freeholders of the province. These bodies had power to make local laws not repugnant to the laws of England.

Proprietary Governments. To this class the provinces of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware belonged, in which "the subordinate powers of legislature and government were granted to certain individuals called the proprietaries, who appointed the governor and authorized him to summon legislative assemblies." * These proprietary governments exercised all the prerogatives which in the provincial governments belonged to the crown. Only one limitation was stipulated—that the ends for which the grant was made by the crown should be observed in the local legislation, and that "nothing should be done or attempted which might derogate from the sovereignty of the mother country." In Maryland the laws enacted were not subjected to the supervision of the crown, but in Pennsylvania and Delaware they were.†

* *History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States*, By George Ticknor Curtis. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854. Vol. I, p. 5.

† *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, with a Preliminary Review. By Joseph Story, LL.D. Abridged edition. Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1833. Pp. 68, 69.

Charter Governments. Plymouth, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were the only colonies of this class, and each had some peculiarities of its own.

The Plymouth Colony landed without any charter. "A large patent" had been granted by the London "Company;" but, "being taken in the name of one who failed to accompany the expedition, the patent was never of the least service."* The Pilgrims, therefore, prior to their landing, drew up and signed "an original compact," in which they acknowledged themselves subjects of the crown of England, and combined themselves into "a civil body politic," "to frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony," to which all promised "due submission and obedience." It was the essence of a pure democracy. After several ineffectual attempts, in 1629 a patent was obtained under the original charter of 1620. This charter furnished them "with the color of a delegated sovereignty." †

The first charter of the Massachusetts Colony "provided only for a civil corporation within the realm, and did not justify the assumption of the extensive, exclusive legislative and judicial powers which were afterward exercised upon the removal of the charter to America." ‡ The same thing was true of the Plymouth Colony. These charters were both lost in the Revolution of 1688. The new charter of William and Mary, in 1691, combined these two colonies and also the province of Maine under one jurisdiction. It was upon a broad foundation, and not a mere corporation "empowered to appoint by-laws," but "in the strictest sense a charter for general political government; a constitution for a State with sovereign powers and prerogatives." It was "dependent, indeed, and subject to, the realm of England;" but still it possessed within its own territorial limits "the general powers of legislation and taxation." The governor was appointed by the crown, but the council was annually chosen by the assembly, and the assembly by the people.

"In Connecticut and Rhode Island the charter governments were organized altogether upon popular and democratic principles, the governor, council and assembly being annually chosen by the freemen of the colony." §

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* Bancroft's *History of the United States.* Vol. I, p. 305.

† *Story on the Constitution.* Edition of Hilliard & Gray. Boston 1833. P. 17.

‡ Ibid, pp. 69, 70.

§ For a fuller statement of the character of the early colonial governments see *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States.* By Hon. Joseph Story, LL.D.

Section 2.—Points of Agreement.

Notwithstanding the diversities of the colonial constitutions, they all agreed in several particulars.

1. All the colonists enjoyed the rights and privileges of British born subjects and the benefits of the common laws of England. All the early colonial legislatures passed declaratory acts acknowledging and confirming these immunities, thus securing a real and effective *magna charta* of their liberties, and firmly establishing the trial by jury, in all civil and criminal cases.

2. Practically, however, it seems to have been left to the colonial judicatures to determine what portions of the common law were applicable to the colonies, and hence a considerable difference of interpretation and administration prevailed in the different sections.

3. Appeals from the highest colonial courts were adjudicated by "the king in council." In most of the colonial constitutions this right was secured by express reservation.

4. There was one fundamental limitation upon all the legislation of the colonies, stipulating that no laws should be enacted repugnant to those of England. A considerable latitude, however, was sometimes allowed in the exposition of this clause.

5. Though the colonies had a common origin, owed a common allegiance, and the inhabitants of each were British subjects, yet they had "no direct political connection with each other; each was independent of all the others; each, in a limited sense, was sovereign within its own territory. There was neither alliance nor confederacy between them."

6. And yet they were not wholly alien from each other, for they were all subjects of a common sovereignty, and, for many purposes, one people. Every colonist had a right, as a British subject, to inhabit any other colony, and to inherit or hold property in them all.

7. But, as colonists, they were excluded from all connection with foreign powers. They were known only as dependencies; and they followed the fate of the parent country, both in peace and war, with no power of diplomacy. No treaty or league between themselves could possess any obligatory force without the assent of the crown, and whenever their mutual wants led them to associate for the purposes of common defense these confederacies were of a temporary character, and were allowed as an indulgence rather than as a right.

8. Every-where in the colonies the attributes of sovereignty,

perpetuity, and responsibility were recognized as inhering in the political capacity of the king. He was the head of the Church, the fountain of authority and justice, the generalissimo of the forces, entitled to share in the legislation, to enter a *nolle prosequi* in civil prosecutions, to pardon crimes, to release forfeitures, to present benefices, to appoint governors, to grant commissions, and perform any other acts not expressly yielded or renounced in the colonial constitutions.

Section 3.—The Religious Limitations.

Under the Provincial Governments.

Virginia. The original charter was vested in a commercial corporation, located in London, which, with the aid of a subordinate council, in the colony, governed the emigrants by royal authority. "Religion was specially enjoined to be established according to the doctrines and rites of the Church of England; and no emigrant might withdraw his allegiance from King James or avow dissent from the royal creed."* After the fall of the London Company, under the new charter, granted in 1624, the governors were required to uphold public worship according to the form and discipline of the Church of England, and to "avoid all factions and needless novelties."

In *New Hampshire* liberty of conscience was allowed to all Protestants, but "those of the Church of England were to be specially encouraged."

New York. The Dutch, who first settled this State, set up the Reformed religion, according to the acts of the Synod of Dort, and the colonial clergy were commissioned by the Classis of Amsterdam; but no formal constitutional restriction was enacted until 1640, when the West India Company, which then controlled the colony, decreed that "no other religion shall be publicly admitted," "except the Reformed Church."†

In *New Jersey* liberty of conscience was allowed to all persons except papists.

In the *Carolinas* an express clause in the charter opened the way for religious freedom.

Georgia was an asylum for the persecuted Protestants of Europe of every name.

* Bancroft's *History of the United States.* Vol. I, p. 123.

† Documents of Colonial History of New York. "Holland," I, p. 123.

Under the Proprietary Governments.

In *Maryland* no religion tolerated by the crown at home could be excluded.

In *Pennsylvania* and *Delaware* liberty of conscience and of worship, and eligibility to public office were granted to all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ.

Under the Chartered Constitutions.

The case of the *Plymouth Colony* was peculiar. The Pilgrims were Independents, and previous to their departure from England they petitioned the king for liberty of religion, to be confirmed under the king's broad seal. "'Who shall make your ministers?' was asked of them; and they answered, 'The power of making them is in the Church; ordination requires no bishops;' and their avowal of their principles threatened to spoil all. . . . While the negotiations were pending, a royal declaration constrained the Puritans of Lancaster to conform or leave the kingdom; and nothing more could be obtained for the wilds of America than *an informal promise of neglect*. On this the community relied, being advised not to entangle themselves with bishops."* With this implied guaranty they founded the colony at Plymouth, in 1620, without a formal charter, as has been previously mentioned. They had security for their own religious freedom, but were not bound by any chartered stipulations to others. The charter which was formally granted in 1629 made no change in their religious status.

The charter of the *Massachusetts Colony* simply conferred the rights of English subjects, without any enlargement of religious liberty. The patentees being Churchmen at the time of their departure from England, this fact was supposed to be, in itself, a sufficient guaranty; and they were left unrestricted.

In *Maine* the early charter expressed "the will and pleasure of the crown that the religion of the Church of England should be professed, and its ecclesiastical government be established, in the province." In 1691 a new charter was granted, by which the three colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, and Maine were united under one colonial government, and "liberty of conscience in the worship of God to all Christians except papists" was decreed.

In *Connecticut* the original charter was silent in regard to religious rights and liberty.

* Bancroft's *History of the United States*. Vol. I, p. 305.

The charter of *Rhode Island*, which was not obtained until 1663, decreed that "no person, within the said colony, should be in any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion, which did not actually disturb the civil peace of said colony; but that all and every person and persons might, from time to time, and at all times thereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments."

Section 4.—Early Religious Legislation.

This phase of the subject opens a broad field from which examples will be given. The religious legislation of Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland, will be the most fully sketched, and only brief references will be made to the other colonies.

Virginia.

This State was colonized by the admirers of English prelacy, and it has been already noticed that its charter established the religion of the Church of England. "Thus the two bulwarks of English loyalty—an aristocracy and a hierarchy—were set up on the soil of Virginia."* From the arrival of Lord Delaware, in 1610, a new administration was introduced, under a new charter granted the previous year, according to which officers were selected and sent out by the London Company. Such was the dread of popery that it was stipulated that no person should enter the province of Virginia* but such as had first taken the oath of supremacy. Henceforth specific instructions were sent to the colony from the mother country, often extending to religious matters. On the failure of his health, Lord Delaware returned to England, and Sir Thomas Dale was sent to Virginia.

The arrival of Sir Thomas Dale, as governor, in 1611, "marks the period at which penal laws were first introduced to aid the colonists in keeping a good conscience." The governor was furnished with a body† of "Lawes, diuine, morall, and martiall," for the colony.‡

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* Bancroft.

† Stith's *Virginia*, p. 122. Burk's *Virginia*, Vol. I, p. 165.

‡ *Two specimens of these laws are here given:*

VI. "Euerie man and woman duly twice a day, vpon the first towling of the bell, shall vpon the working daies repaire vnto the Church to heare diuine service, vpon paine of losing his or her

They were chiefly translated from the martial laws of the "Low Countries, and were entirely at variance with the spirit of English liberty. In this singular code of bloody enactments, the Church was provided for; but it is due both to the governors and the governed to state, that on the one hand there was as little disposition to enforce as on the other to submit to, the penalties of the code." *

In 1618, Captain Argall, the deputy governor, in revising the code provided that "every person should go to church, Sundays and holy days, or lie neck and heels that night, and be a slave to the colony the following week; for the second offense, he should be a slave for a month; and, for the third, a year and a day." † The tyranny of Argall led to a remonstrance to the London Company, and the following year a new governor appeared, bringing a new charter. It provided that the clergy should have in each borough a glebe, to consist of one hundred acres, and should receive from the profits of each parish a standing revenue, to be worth at least two hundred pounds. Thenceforth also, a colonial legislature assembled, consisting of "two burgesses chosen for every town, hundred, and plantation." Among the first laws of this body was one for the

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daye's allowance for the first omission; for the second, to be whipt; and for the third, to be condemned to the gallies for six months. Likewise, no man or woman shall dare to violate or breake the Sabbath by any gaming, publique or private, abroad or at home, but duly sanctify and observe the same, both himselfe and his familie, by preparing themselves at home by private praise, that they may be the better fitted for the publique, according to the commandments of God and the orders of our Church; as also, euerie man and woman shall repaire in the morning to the diuine service, and sermones preached vpon the Sabbath daie, and in the afternoon to diuine service and catechising, vpon paine for the first fault to lose their provision and allowance for the whole weeke following; for the second, to lose the said allowance, and also to be whipt; and for the third, to suffer death."

XXXIII. "There is not one man nor woman in this colonie now present, or hereafter to arrive, but shall give up an account of his and their faith and religion, and repaire vnto the minister that by his conference with them he may vnderstand and gather whether heretofore they have been sufficiently instructed and catechised in the principles and grounds of religion; whose weakness and ignorance herein, the minister finding and advising them in all love and charitie to repaire often vnto him to receive therein a greater measure of knowledge; if they shall refuse so to repaire vnto him, and he the minister give notice thereof vnto the governor, or that chiefe officer of that towne or fort wherein he or she, the parties so offending shall remaine, the governor shall cause the offender, for the first time of refusal, to be whipt; for the second time he shall be whipt twice, and to acknowledge his fault vpon the Sabbath daie in the assembly of the congregation; and for the third time, to be whipt every day vntil he hath made the same acknowledgement, and ask forgiveness of the same, and shall repaire vnto the minister to be further instructed as aforesaid; and vpon the Sabbath, when the minister shall catechise and of him demand any question concerning his faith and knowledge, he shall not refuse to make answer vpon the same perill."

"For the colony in Virgineia Brittannia: Lawes, Diuine, morall, and martiall, etc." London, 1612. Collected and published by Wm. Strachey.

See also *Hawks's History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, pp. 25, 27.

* *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia.* By Rev. F. L. Hawks, D.D. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1836, p. 24. Also, I. *Buck's Appendix*, 304.

† Stith's *Virginia*, 145; Burk's *Virginia*, 195.

church. In 1621-22 it was enacted that each clergyman should receive from his parishioners fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco and sixteen barrels of corn, no person paying more than ten pounds of tobacco and one bushel of corn. Every male who had reached the age of sixteen years was liable to this tax.*

Again, in 1624, there was special legislation with reference to the Church, by the colonial assembly convened by Sir Francis Wyatt. Of the thirty-five laws passed, the first seven laws were for the benefit of the Church and the clergy. They provided that, in every plantation, "a house or room" should be set apart for the worship of God, and also a place for burial; that absence from church for one Sabbath, without a good excuse, should be punished by a fine of a pound of tobacco, and, for a month, fifty pounds; that all persons should yield conformity to the canons of the Church of England, upon pain of censure; that the 22d of March (the day of the great Indian massacre in 1622), should be solemnized and kept holy, and that all other holy days should be observed; that no minister should be absent from his cure above two months in the whole year, upon penalty of forfeiting half his salary, and, if absent four months, his whole salary and cure; that whoever should disparage a minister, without sufficient proof to justify his reports, should pay five hundred pounds of tobacco, and ask the minister's forgiveness publicly in the congregation; that no man should dispose of any of his tobacco before paying the minister, upon forfeiture of double his part toward the salary, and that one man in every plantation should be appointed to collect the minister's salary out of the first and best tobacco and corn.† This was the last legislation that affected the Church, under the jurisdiction of the London Company. The same year the king arbitrarily resumed the charter, and henceforth, for the next one hundred and fifty years, the government was provincial in its character.

In 1629 an act was passed, enjoining, under severe penalties, a strict conformity to the canons of the Established Church; and, in 1642, another, declaring that "no minister should be permitted to officiate in the country but such as should produce to the governor a testimonial that he had received his ordination from some bishop in England," and should pledge "conformity to the Church of England," and that any other person pretending to minister should be compelled to depart from the country. The civil code of this period was very severe in its penalties. A woman convicted of

* Hawks's *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, p. 35.
† Hening's *Virginia Statutes at Large*, 122; Stith, 319.

scolding was ordered to be ducked three times from a vessel lying in James River; a man guilty of slandering a minister was required to pay a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco, and to ask the pardon of the minister before the congregation. In the year 1633 a citizen of Hungar parish, for the offense of slandering Rev. Mr. Cotton, was ordered by the Court to make a pair of stocks, and sit in them several Sabbath days, during divine service, and then ask Mr. Cotton's forgiveness. In the year 1643 the Court ordered that Richard Buckland, who had written a slanderous song on Ann Smith, should stand, during the "Lessons" at the church door with a paper on his hat, on which should be written "*Inimicus Libellus*," and that he should ask forgiveness of God, and also of Ann Smith. In 1664 Mary Powell was ordered to receive twenty lashes on her bare shoulders, and be banished from the country, on account of slander. Quakers quietly worshiping God, but not according to the methods of the Established Church, were convicted of blasphemy and banished from the country.*

In 1664 the condition of the Church in Virginia was very unfavorable, and an extended representation of its affairs was made to the Bishop of London and the king by the governor, Sir Wm. Berkeley, in his visit to England that year. In reply he received "a body of instructions," which formed the basis of the colonial legislation for the Church, after his return, in 1662. These acts provided for the erection of church edifices, the arrangement of parishes, the supply of Bibles, prayer-books, and other church requisites, regulated the compensation of the clergy, the frequency of public services and the sacraments, the appointments of vestrymen, and the observance of the Sabbath.

In 1689, Rev. James Blair, D.D., was appointed by the king and his council, and duly commissioned by the Bishop of London, as a commissary "to supply the office and jurisdiction of the bishop in the outlying places of the diocese." Virginia was his special field of labor, and his functions were restricted to the inspection of churches, the delivering of charges, and, in some instances, the administration of discipline.

In the year 1705, additional statutes were enacted for the suppression of vice and the punishment of blasphemy. They provided that the denial of God, or the Trinity, or the truth of the Christian religion, or the authority of the Scriptures, for the first offense, should be punished by the forfeiture of all official positions within the

* *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia.* By Rev. Bishop Wm. Meade, Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857, vol. I, pp. 254, 5.

province; for the second, disqualification from being guardian, administrator, grantee, legatee, devisee, etc.; and that the offender should also suffer three years' imprisonment. Stringent statutes were also enacted to promote the observance of the Lord's day. Any person who should be absent from the parish church for one month, or be present at any disorderly meeting, gaming, or tippling, or make any journey, or travel on the road, except to and from church (cases of necessity and mercy excepted), should be fined, and, on failure to pay the fine, should be whipped.*

The legislature of the colony, in 1727, fixed the annual salary of the clergy at sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, and ordered that not less than two hundred acres of land should be purchased and appropriated, as a glebe, in each parish, with comfortable buildings. Passing by other similar legislation, in which the mutual relations of the civil and ecclesiastical bodies are exhibited, the close of the colonial period is reached, when a great revolution took place. During several years a spirit of opposition to the Established Church had been augmenting, and finally it fully engaged the attention of the legislature of 1776, in which, after a desperate contest, an act was passed repealing all laws implying criminality for differences of opinion in matters of religion, neglect of attendance upon church services and laws restricting the mode of worship. Dissenters were also, by law, exempted from paying taxes for the support of the Episcopal Church. Arrears of salaries due the clergy, and glebes already purchased, with church edifices, books, etc., were secured to them. This was the second statute enacted by the first republican legislature of Virginia.† At this time, about two thirds‡ of the people of the State had become dissenters, or at least were not connected with the Established Church.

Maryland.

The early history of this celebrated colony was characterized by great liberality, which made it a marked exception in those days. The Legislative Assembly, in 1645, adopted a strong statutory declaration in favor of religious liberty, for which that colony has received many high encomiums.§ Its language is strikingly in con-

* Trott's *Laws of Virginia* No. 46; 3. Hening's *Statutes at Large*, p. 358.

† Hawks's *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia*, p. 143.

‡ Benedict's *History of the Baptists*. New York, Lewis Colby, etc., 1848, p. 653.

§ It should not, however, be overlooked that this virtue was not a purely voluntary thing. The home government, to which all the colonies were amenable, was intensely Protestant, and it was a condition of the grant that all religions must be allowed which were tolerated by the crown at

trast with the spirit of the early colonies of Virginia, New England and New York, and especially with that shown in the history of the Papal Church. It declared that "the enforcement of the conscience has been an unlawful and dangerous prerogative;" that no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect to his religion, or in the free exercise thereof; that persons molesting any others in respect to their religious tenets should be heavily fined, but that persons speaking reproachfully of the Virgin Mary, or guilty of blasphemy, should be punished, the latter with death. Such a statute is the more remarkable because a great variety of religious classes, although, probably, not formed into churches, were already in the colony, at this early period, as may be inferred from the terms used in this celebrated document; namely, "Heretic, Schismatic, Idolater, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, Popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barronist, Roundhead and Separatist."

To whatever the toleration of the Protestants by the Catholics of Maryland may be attributed, it is, nevertheless, the just verdict of impartial history that, "under the enlightened policy of Lord Baltimore the colony steadily advanced in prosperity, increasing both in comfort and in numbers. Roman Catholics and Protestants alike found protection and security, and lived in harmony."*

Under the administration of Governor Fendall, in 1658, the Quakers were persecuted, and four years before, when Cromwell's commissioners took possession of the colony, attempts to worship, by Catholics and Episcopalians, were suppressed. Before the close of the century there were repeated changes† in the civil condition of

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home. In fact, the Maryland Colony was a Protestant measure affording an asylum for Roman Catholics at a time when they were suffering severe persecution.

De Courcey, an eminent Roman Catholic writer, has frankly dissented from the encomiums which have been pronounced upon this papal colony on account of toleration. He says, "*When a State has the happiness of possessing unity of religion, and that religion the truth, we cannot conceive how the government can facilitate the division of creeds.* Lord Baltimore had seen too well how the English Catholics, were crushed by the Protestants, as soon as they were the strongest and most numerous; he should then have foreseen that it would have been so in Maryland, so that the English Catholics, instead of finding liberty in America, only changed their bondage. *Instead, then, of admiring the liberality of Lord Baltimore, we prefer to believe that he obtained his charter from Charles I. only on the formal condition of admitting Protestants on an equal footing with Catholics.*"

See *The Catholic Church in the United States.* By Henry De Courcey. Translated and enlarged by John Gilmary Shea. New York. Edward Dunigan & Bro., 1857, p. 30.

* *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland.* By Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D. New York. John S. Tyler, 1839, p. 30.

† There were several embarrassments. During the middle of the first century a civil war was in progress in England, and the supreme power was first in the king, then in Cromwell and Parliament, then in the king again, which changes affected the civil condition of the colony. Con-

England, which often proved unfavorable to the Maryland Catholics. As one of the effects of the English Revolution in 1688 a widespread abhorrence of popery prevailed, extending to all the colonies. In the meantime other sects were increasing in numbers more rapidly, especially the Episcopalians. When the proprietary government was closed up, in that province, in 1692, and the colony was brought directly under the officers of the crown, the Church of England was established by the colonial legislature, and a tax was imposed by law for its support.* The law of 1692 provided that the Church of England should enjoy all her rights, liberties and franchises wholly inviolable, that the several counties should be laid out into parishes, that taxes for the support of the clergy should be levied, and that the vestries should be bodies corporate.† The ten counties were divided into thirty-six parishes. The number of the clergy at that time was sixteen, and the population twenty-five thousand.‡ The Episcopal Church remained under this regimen until the American Revolution, favored with the patronage of the civil power. Other sects were tolerated, except the papists, who were absolutely forbidden to assemble for worship.

Catholic school-masters were followed up by the officers of the law, and Catholic parents were prohibited from educating their children in the faith of their ancestors. But the learned and zealous Jesuit missionaries in the province had established at Bohemia, a remote and secluded spot on the Eastern Shore, a grammar school, where, without observation or molestation, the Catholic youth of the province received a preparatory training for the European colleges. Here the youthful Carroll, with his illustrious cousin, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and his relative, Robert Brent, entered on their preparatory studies.§

In *South Carolina*, the first proprietaries protected all the sects. In 1704, the colonial oligarchy, who were churchmen, by political chicanery obtained a majority of one in the Legislature—notwith-

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tentions arose, and the Catholics and proprietors at one time arrayed themselves against the ruling powers in England. Civil war was thus transferred to the colony, in which the governor and the Catholics were defeated. Hence, in 1654, when Cromwell assumed the protectorate, the Catholics having arrayed themselves against the government, a new assembly was convened, and an act was passed by which persons who held to popery or prelacy were restrained from the free exercise of their religion. Other changes followed under subsequent sovereigns.

**History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* By Henry De Courcey. Enlarged by John Gilmary Shea. New York, 1857. Edward Dunigan & Bro., p. 33.

† Bacon's *Laws of Maryland*, 1692, Ch. II. Also Hawks's *History of the Episcopal Church in Maryland*, pp. 71, 72.

‡ Griffith's *Sketches of Maryland*, p. 36.

§ *Lives of the Deceased Catholic Bishops*, vol. I, p. 34.

standing two thirds of the inhabitants were not Episcopalians—disfranchised all but themselves, and gave the Church of England the exclusive monopoly of political power. The dissenters appealed to the House of Lords, in England; the acts complained of were annulled by the crown, and were repealed by the Colonial Assembly two years afterward. From that time until the American Revolution dissenters were tolerated, and allowed a share in civil matters, but the Church of England remained the established Church of the province.*

At the commencement of the last century almost all denominations existed in *North Carolina*, Quakers, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Independents, etc., constituting the majority of the people. But the proprietaries forced a church establishment upon this province in 1704, claiming that the majority were only "Quakers, Atheists, Deists and other evil-disposed persons." From that time, churches were erected at public expense, and other provisions for an Establishment, such as parishes and clergy, were made. But the Episcopal Church never became very strong in that province.

East and West *New Jersey* united into one province, and placed under the administration of the crown in 1702, had its future government laid down in the commission and instructions to Lord Cornbury; toleration being allowed to all but papists, and special "favor" invoked for the Church of England—that Church being so far established there seventy-three years before the American Revolution. In *Pennsylvania* there never was any union of Church and State, nor any attempt to bring it about. *Delaware* was separated from Pennsylvania in 1691, and, from that time, had its own governors under the immediate control of the crown. But in Delaware, as well as in New Jersey and in Georgia, the colony of the good Cavalier, James Oglethorpe, who loved "the king and the Church," there can hardly be said to have been an Establishment. The "favor" shown to the Episcopal Church secured a maintenance for a small number of ministers only, and that more for the benefit and gratification of the officers connected with the government, and their families, than with the view of reaching the people, who preferred other modes of worship.

New York.

It has been mentioned that the Reformed Dutch Church was established in this colony by the first settlers, and that in 1640 it

* Bancroft's *History of the United States.* Vol. III, pp. 18, 19.

was confirmed by the decree of the West India Company. In 1664, the City of New York was taken by the English, who stipulated that the Dutch should enjoy entire liberty of conscience and worship, while, at the same time, the new government established the Church of England in every parish of the colony. But a public pledge was given that "no person should be molested, fined or imprisoned, for differing in judgment in matters of religion, who professed Christianity." *

At the Quarter-Millennial Anniversary of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of New York City Rev. Dr. Dix said:

> New Amsterdam was taken; it became New York, and the Church of England was planted where the Classis of Amsterdam had been the supreme and only ecclesiastical authority. But observe how scrupulously the rights of your forefathers were respected. There is nothing like it in history; never did conquerors treat the conquered with such deference and consideration. As far as possible, the old customs were preserved; private rights, contracts, inheritances, were scrupulously regarded; and, as for the Reformed Dutch Church, it seems to have been treated as a sacred thing. It was more than protected; it was actually established by law, by an English governor, under English auspices. This was, perhaps, no more than a fair return for the good deeds done by your people. When your turn came to be under the yoke, it was said to you in substance: "You shall still be free; not one of your old customs shall be changed, until you change them yourselves; by us you shall not be meddled with; keep your places of worship, your flocks, and all you have, in peace." And so, to their old church of St. Nicholas, inside the fort, did your people continue to wend their way in absolute security, though English sentries were at the gates; and within the walls over which the standard of England waved did the good Dutch dominie speak his mind as freely as ever to his spiritual children; nor was it until they had finished their devotions and withdrawn, that the English chaplain ventured within the same house of worship to read his office from the *Book of Common Prayer.*

Subsequently (1686) † an effort was made to put the province under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, three years after, it was embraced within the diocese of the Bishop of London, without whose approval no clergyman could be inducted into any parish. About this time, taxes were levied upon all the inhabitants for the support of the Episcopal clergy, although liberty of conscience was granted to all persons except

* *N. Y. Historical Society's Collections*, I, p. 332.

† In 1686, Governor Dougan, of the Colony of New York, was instructed as follows: "You are to take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly served throughout the government, the *Book of Common Prayer*, as it is now established, read every Sunday and Holy Day, and the blessed sacraments administered according to the rites of the Church of England. . . . Our will and pleasure is, that no minister be preferred by you to any ecclesiastical benefice in our province without a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, of his being conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and of a good life and conversation."

papists. Under the governorship of Col. Benjamin Fletcher (1693), the Church of England made considerable progress toward ecclesiastical distinction. It was recognized and sustained by the government, while the Reformed Church was still allowed. Dissent was not, however, encouraged. In 1706, a petition was presented to the government "to exempt Protestants from any taxation for the support of ministers of churches to which they did not belong;" but it was rejected, and down to about the time of the Revolution Presbyterians, Lutherans, etc., were compelled to support the Episcopal Church.*

New England.

It has been said that the Plymouth Colony, at the time of their landing, were without a formal charter; but in the cabin of the *Mayflower* they drew up a form of civil government which was "the germ of the republican institutions of the United States." "Standing around the table in the ship's cabin, they organized themselves into a Commonwealth, and pledged themselves to make just and equal

* The following additional items will be of interest: "The letter of the Bishop of London to the king in council, in February 1759, as found in the *Colonial Documents*, Vol. VII, page 360, is full of valuable facts: 'In 1696, the king directed that the president, council and ministers, should provide that the live word and service of God should be preached, planted and used, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England. . . . The Church of England being established in America, the Independents and other Dissenters who went to settle in New England could only have toleration, and, in fact, they had no more, as appears by their several charters, and more particularly by the Rhode Island charter, granted in the fourteenth year of Charles II. Thus stands the right of the Church of England in America. And, in fact, at least one half of the plantations are of the Established Church, and have built churches and ministers' houses, and have by-laws of their respective assemblies, confirmed by the crown, providing maintenance for the Church of England clergy.' In September, 1693, the Colonial Assembly passed an act for settling a ministry and raising a maintenance for them, and for enforcing collections by taxation for this purpose. This act received the king's assent in council on May 11, 1697. It is very evident that many of the colonists were dissatisfied with the operations of this law, for in 1695 the Colonial Assembly of New York resolved that the wardens and vestrymen had power to call a dissenting minister under the act of 1693.

"Notwithstanding Governor Fletcher rebuked the assembly for such an assumption, a bill was passed in 1699 for settling a ministry of Dissenters. The Earl of Bellomont maintained that such a measure was in conflict with his instructions and he rejected it. As freeholders elected the wardens, who chose the ministers, it is evident that those in sympathy with Dissenters were largely chosen. At Jamaica, in 1702, a dissenting minister, Mr. Hubbard, was called by the wardens and vestrymen. In 1704, Lord Cornbury put into possession of this church a minister of the Church of England, by his warrant alone. After his death his widow put into possession a dissenting minister who had married her daughter. Litigation followed, but the Presbyterians were never dispossessed of the church or property. As illustrations of the sentiments which prevailed at that day even in New York, the following facts are pertinent: 'In 1706, a bill was introduced to exempt the Protestants of the counties of New York, Westchester, Queens and Richmond, from any taxation for the support of ministers of churches to which they did not belong. The bill was rejected. In 1769, attempts were made by the assembly to secure an act for allowing churches of Reformed Protestants to the northward of the counties of Dutchess and Ulster, to take and hold real estate to the value of £100 per annum, given to them for the support of the Gospel and the uses of schools. The council refused its assent.'"

laws for the general good, and promised to obey the laws of the majority, and the officers whom they should elect. There were forty-one men in all, representing different conditions of life. Every one of these signed this compact, and they elected one of their number to be their governor. This is believed to have been the first example of a written constitution based upon the equal rights of men as members of the State. These men recognized one another as equals before the law; and, as the foundation of government, they laid down the broad principle that laws should be framed for "the general good," and should be just and equal toward all alike."

"As the Plymouth colonists were all of one faith, and were, in fact, members of one church, they naturally made provision for the support of religion from the public treasury; and, as the colony extended, they ordered that churches should be built and maintained in every town at the public cost. At a later period, when the peace and safety of so small a Commonwealth were threatened by innovations, they passed laws compelling attendance upon public worship, and forbidding churches to separate from those already set up and approved, unless the consent and approbation of the government should first be obtained. Theirs was not strictly an established church, but the pretext for such restrictions upon the very liberty which they came to establish was the preservation of a homogeneous colony, and of a pure and independent church. They required also that a "freeman," or voter in the town meetings, should be of good personal character and 'orthodox in the fundamentals of religion.' Such regulations show that these colonists were not wholly emancipated from the notions and customs of their times, nor quite equal to the occasion of proclaiming religious liberty to all men. Nevertheless, the Plymouth colonists made a great step forward, and were never betrayed into gross intolerance. Though even this most notable colony—the mother of civil and religious liberty—was still hampered by the notion that the State should provide for the maintenance of religion, and should punish blasphemy, profaneness, Sabbath-breaking, and heresy as crimes, yet it did not, like later Puritan colonies of New England, go to the oppressive extreme of restricting civil offices and privileges to members of the church."

"The original Pilgrims were more just and liberal than their immediate successors. In the second generation, the prosperity of the colony tempted mere commercial adventurers to join it, and these brought with them elements of discord, disorder, vice, and

irreligion, that seemed to call for severe measures of proscription. Yet harsh laws, passed in an emergency of public danger, were repealed as soon as the excitement had subsided, and Plymouth was, in the main, a model of a well-regulated colony." *

"For eighteen years all laws were enacted in a general assembly of all the colonists. The governor, chosen annually, was but president of a council in which he had a double vote. It consisted, first of one, then of five, and finally of seven counsellors, called assistants. So little were political honors coveted at New Plymouth that it became necessary to inflict a fine upon such as, being chosen, declined to serve as governor or assistant. None, however, were obliged to serve for two years in succession.

"The constitution of the Church was equally democratic. For the first eight years there was no pastor, unless Robinson, still in Holland, might be considered in that light. Lyford, sent out by the London partners, was refused and expelled. Brewster, the ruling elder, and such private members as had the gift of prophecy, officiated as exhorters. On Sunday afternoons, a question was propounded, upon which all spoke who had any thing to say. Even after they adopted the plan of a pastor, no minister stayed long at Plymouth." †

It has been noticed that the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut, were left almost entirely without constitutional restrictions in regard to religious matters, and hence were at liberty to frame their own ecclesiastical institutions and politico-religious regulations.

It is a remarkable fact that, with the exception of the Plymouth settlers, all the first New England colonists, up to their leaving England, were Puritan members of the Church of England; ‡ but when they settled in their new homes they all proceeded to found their churches on the "Independent" plan, confining every church within the limits of a single congregation, and making its govern-

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* *Church and State.* By Rev. J. P. Thompson, D.D. Boston. James R. Osgood & Co., 1873. pp. 54–57.

† Hildreth's *History of the United States.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1849, vol. I, p. 175.

‡ The emigrants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay belonged to the Low Church party, and their ministers, Higginson, Hooker, and Cotton, although regularly ordained clergymen of the Established Church, shared so largely in the growing revolt against prelacy that they were ready to improve the earliest opportunity to cast off their bonds. Bancroft says: "Considering the subject from the historical point of view, it must be observed that the establishment of Episcopacy in New England, as the religion of the State, was impossible, since the character of the times was a guaranty that the immense majority of emigrants would prove its uncompromising opponents. Episcopacy had no motive to emigrate; it was Puritanism almost alone that came over, and freedom of Puritan worship was necessarily the purpose and the result of the colony." Vol. I., p. 344.

ment a pure democracy. The membership of the Church was made up of persons who sought admission, made a confession of their faith and experience, and signed a "covenant." The entire power of admitting and excluding members, and the decision of all controversies, was with the brotherhood, by whom the officers were elected. Such, in brief, was the idea of the Church in the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut. How was the State constituted?

It must be premised that, with these colonists, religion was the stock upon which every thing must be ingrafted. They emigrated for religious ends. Every thing, therefore, must be shaped by religion and subordinate to it. The State became an outgrowth from the Church, its offspring and handmaid. In all affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, the Church took the precedence, and gave character to the civil administration; the State was only the Church acting in secular and civil affairs.

Predicating their action upon this principle, the ballot was limited to members of the Church. This law, adopted in 1631, discloses their strong religious feelings—"To the end that the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it is ordered and agreed that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."* This principle was incorporated into the colonial laws of Massachusetts, Maine, and Connecticut. A desire to promote the welfare of the State led to the adoption of this restriction upon the character of the men who should choose their rulers, make their laws, and manage the affairs of the colony. It was not to benefit or aggrandize the little organizations which constituted these churches, but to secure good and honest citizens to administer the civil government. Nor was this practice of the Puritan Commonwealth altogether strange and exceptional in that age. Throughout Christendom, neither Jews, Turks, pagans, infidels, nor excommunicated persons could enjoy the full privileges of citizenship. They must be in communion with the churches established by law. It was the universal prerogative of the Church to confer the civil franchise. Until recently this test has existed in England. But in New England the principle worked differently from anywhere else, for the churches admitted to their fellowship only those who, according to their spiritual standard, were regenerated persons, the evidence

* Bancroft's *History of the United States.* Vol. I, p. 360. Also Massachusetts Colonial *Records*, 1631. Vol. I, p. 87.

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of which was required to be recited before the church, including an internal assurance of a change of heart and a lively sense of justification, as one of God's elect. Such was the basis on which the civil constitution was established. It became the primary object of civil legislation to provide for the support of public worship. Towns of convenient size were laid out as "parishes," and the people were ordered by law, through the proper authorities of their respective towns, to levy taxes for the erection and suitable repair of "meeting-houses," for the maintenance of a minister, and all other necessary expenses connected with public worship. The town voted with the Church in the call of the minister. The town and the parish in New England were united by a vital ligament which closely blended the civil and the religious life. The key principle was that government, civil and ecclesiastical, is constituted and administered upon the Bible as the source of knowledge and authority, with no kingly nor episcopal supremacy. The discipline of the Church in the early days was prompt, vigilant, judicial, and carried out with a strong public authority. And it took cognizance, too, of offenses which since then have been more wisely referred to other tribunals.

In the early period there were usually two ministers to each church, one denominated a "teacher," or "elder," and a "pastor;" but this distinction did not long continue, for by degrees they soon came to support one minister. There were "ruling elders" selected from among the laymen, who were active promoters of good order and doctrine, and deacons, who managed the finances. These two offices were subsequently blended in one under the latter title.

"According to the system established in Massachusetts, the Church and State were most intimately blended. The magistrates and general court, aided by the advice of the elders, claimed and exercised a supreme control in spiritual as well as temporal matters; while, even in matters purely temporal, the elders were consulted on all important questions. The support of the elders, the first thing considered in the first court of assistants held in Massachusetts, had been secured by a vote to build houses for them, and to provide them a maintenance at the public expense. This burden was indeed spontaneously assumed by such of the plantations as had ministers." *

The northern colony in Connecticut, consisting of three towns, held a convention of all the freemen and adopted a written constitution, based on that of Massachusetts, but different in one

* Hildreth's *History of the United States*. Vol. I, p. 191.

important particular. As at Plymouth, residents of an acceptable character might be admitted freemen, though not church members, but the governor must belong to the Church. The first general court (1638) enacted a body of laws, deficiencies in which were to be supplied by the "Word of God." The New Haven Colony effected an organization in 1639. They limited the right of participation in the government to church members, and adopted the Scriptures as the law of the land. The Church was organized with great care. After prayers and a sermon, twelve persons were elected by the body of the colonists, with power, after the trial of each other, to designate seven of their own number as pillars. These seven were to admit such additional church members as they saw fit. The Church being organized, and a body of freemen provided, the governor was chosen. In 1667, these two Connecticut colonies were consolidated, but they retained essentially the same character.

The government of the early Puritan colonies has been repeatedly characterized as a "Theocracy." Bancroft, Hildreth, a large number of other writers, and more recently Rev. Dr. J. P. Thompson,* have thus denominated it, but exceptions have been taken to this view by some of the ablest New England divines, although they say that "it is difficult to combat a theory so deeply rooted." A writer† in the *Congregational Quarterly* says: "This state of affairs did not make a 'theocracy,' as is sometimes inconsiderately, nay, foolishly supposed. If Massachusetts was then a 'theocracy,' every Christian church and every Christian family, and every mercantile establishment conducted on Christian principles, is now a theocracy; for in neither case was anything done beyond this: to live according to the mind and will of God, as signified to us in the Holy Scriptures. In neither case is any direct or immediate revelation from God enjoyed or expected, as in the theocracy of old."

The founders of these colonies were devout and religious men, intent upon escaping persecution for non-conformity; they also desired to establish a body politic in which the habit of thought and course of legislation should favor that sobriety and good order in the community which grow out of a prevalence of religious

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* *Church and State.* Published by James R. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1873, pp. 46, 57, etc. See critical review of this book by the editors of the *Congregational Quarterly*, Oct., 1873, pp. 588, 590.

† Rev. John A. Vinton. See July number, 1873, p. 408. In a foot-note, Mr. Vinton adds—"the word 'Theocracy' is defined by Webster: 'Government of a State by the immediate direction of God; or, the State thus governed. Of this species the Israelites furnish an illustrious example. The theocracy lasted till the time of Saul.' Worcester's definition is 'A government directed by God.' The etymology of the word should be sufficient."

culture; and they sought to accomplish their ends through the instrumentality of civil government. Hence they organized the civil body as they did.

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1638, a law was enacted subjecting to assessment and distress all who did not voluntarily contribute according to their ability to all town charges, "as well for upholding the ordinances of the churches as otherwise," and another, exposing excommunicated persons to fine, imprisonment, and banishment. The revised code of 1641 conferred upon the magistrates and general court—themselves the representatives of a constituency of church members—the right of superintending the churches, and to deal with church members "in a civil way" without waiting for the action of their particular churches. It provided that no church censure should degrade or depose any civil officer, and that no proscription or custom may prevail to establish any thing "morally sinful by the law of God." It limited the hospitalities of the colony to people of other nations professing "the true Christian religion." The punishment of death was inflicted for idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, and nine other offenses. The code concludes with a declaration of "the liberties which the Lord Jesus has given to the churches." But the strict union between Church and State, and the despotic authority assumed by the aggregate of the church members, as represented by the magistrates and deputies, reduced the liberties of the individual churches within very narrow limits. Almost every clause in this section is burdened with a qualification which destroys its force. "Every church has free liberty of election and ordination of all their officers, provided they be able, pious, and orthodox." "We allow private meetings for edification in religion among Christians of all sorts of people, so it be without just offense for number, time, place, and other circumstances." "The polity of Massachusetts conferred, in fact, unlimited powers in matters of religion, as in every thing else, upon the majority of church members, as represented by the magistrates and General Court. Those in the minority, whether churches or individuals, had no rights, and no alternative but silence and submission or withdrawal from the colony."*

In 1644, a law was enacted inflicting banishment upon all such as, after "due time and means of conviction, continue obstinate" in opposing infant baptism. The following year a petition was presented to the general court asking for a reconsideration of the

* Hildreth's *History of the United States*. Vol. I, p. 279.

law against the Baptists. "A portion of the court were inclined to listen to this petition, but the elders went first to the deputies and then to the magistrates, and, representing what advantage it would give the Baptists, whose notions were fast spreading, they succeeded in obtaining a peremptory note that the laws complained of should neither be altered nor explained. The Commissioners for the United Colonies aided their support, advising at the next meeting the suppression of the influx of error, 'under a deceitful color of liberty of conscience.'" *

In 1646, a petition was presented by Messrs. Maverick, Dr. Child, and five others, praying for the rights of English subjects, and complaining of the exclusion of all but church members from civil and ecclesiastical privileges. Those who signed it were accused of a very "linsie-wolsie disposition, some for prelacy, some for presbytery, and some for plebsbytery." Dr. Child was summoned before the court; he and his associates were fined from $50 to $250 each, and were exhorted to be quiet, to study to mind their own business, and to "recollect the sin of Korah, in resisting Moses and Aaron."

A similar effort in behalf of religious liberty had been made in the Plymouth Colony, about the same time, by Vassall and others. One of the magistrates had made a proposal for general toleration, and two others had supported him. "You would have admired," wrote Winslow to Winthrop, "to see how sweet this carrion relisheth in the palate of most of the deputies." "But Governor Prince, sustained by a majority of the magistrates, refused to put it to the vote, as being that, indeed, which would eat out the power of godliness." †

The intimate relations of the Church and State in New England will be still further seen from the action of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who recommended the drawing up of a common confession of faith and a common scheme of discipline for the New England churches. The general court subsequently proposed a synod for that purpose. After some delays, the synod assembled in Cambridge, in 1648, and framed a confession of faith almost identical, except in the matter of church government, with that of the famous Westminster Assembly. The latter declared for Presbyterianism, claiming for the Church, under "King James," a divine authority independent of the State. But the Cambridge platform of New England Churches recognized the intimate union

* Hildreth's *History of the United States.* Vol. I, pp. 310, 311.
† Hildreth's *History of the United States.* Vol. I, p. 319.

of Church and State, as they had been organized in the Massachusetts Colony, limiting political power to church members.

Two early governors of the Massachusetts Colony, Winthrop and Dudley, who had been deeply devoted to the peculiar politico-ecclesiastical policy * which had been adopted, survived the synod but a short time. Winthrop died in 1649, and Dudley in 1652.

In 1649, the code of laws of the Massachusetts Colony was compiled and published under the direction of a commission consisting of two magistrates, two ministers, and two able persons from among the people in each county. In this code were several enactments, borrowed from the Jewish code and others, sustaining the fundamental doctrines upon which the policy of the colony was founded. The following language appears in the code: "Although no human power be lord over the faith and consciences of men, yet because such as bring in damnable heresies, tending to the subversion of the Christian faith and destruction of the souls of men, ought duly to be restrained from such notorious impieties," therefore, "any Christian within this jurisdiction, who shall go about to subvert or destroy the Christian faith and religion by broaching and maintaining any damnable heresies, as denying the immortality of the soul or resurrection of the body, or any sin to be repented of in the regenerate, or any evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin, or denying that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins, . . . or shall openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants," etc., etc., were liable to banishment. Jesuits were forbidden to enter the colony, and their second coming was punishable with death.

A code for Connecticut, adopted the following year, followed closely that of Massachusetts. In 1651, the town of Malden, having settled a minister without consultation with neighboring churches, was subjected to a fine. "The offense thus punished without any law for it—a practice in those times too common in Massachusetts—a law was afterward enacted making it essential to the settling of a minister to have the consent both of a council of the neighboring churches and of 'some of the magistrates' also.† '"

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* The following lines, found in the pocket of Dudley after his death, express the sentiment of these men:—

"Let men of God, in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cocatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's—'I died no libertine!'"

† Baldreth. Vol. I, p. 381.

In 1654, it was enacted that every town should support a minister, the burden to be laid "upon the whole society jointly, whether in church order or not." It was also enacted that none should be allowed to sit as deputies in the general court who did not hold to the creed of the established churches of the colony. In 1656, a special law was enacted against Quakers, which denounced them as "a cursed sect of heretics lately risen in the world." To bring a "known Quaker" into the colony was made punishable with a fine of £100, besides bonds to carry him back again, or, in default thereof, imprisonment. The Quaker himself was to be whipped twenty stripes, sent to the house of correction, and kept at hard labor until transported. The importation or possession of Quaker books was strictly prohibited, and all such books were to be burned by the nearest magistrate. Any one who should dare to defend Quaker opinions was subjected to a fine, and for the third offense was liable to be banished. The following year the fines were increased: for an hour's entertainment of a "known Quaker" a fine of forty shillings was specified; male Quakers were compelled to lose one ear on the first conviction, and on the second the other, and on the third both males and females were to have their tongues bored through with a hot iron. Similar laws were adopted in the Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven colonies, by the recommendation of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. In 1658, the Massachusetts Colony made the second visit of a Quaker punishable with death.

Charles II. was restored to his father's throne in 1660. Negotiations soon took place in reference to points at issue between the king and the colony, in which the king demanded the repeal of all laws inconsistent with his due authority, a complete toleration for the Church of England, the repeal of the law which restricted the tenure of office and the privilege of voting to members of the churches, and the admission of all persons of honest lives to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The advocates of toleration, heretofore suppressed with great severity, were encouraged by these demands of the king, and raised their heads again. During the next thirty years, the State was divided into three parties, which arose upon the issues springing out of the question of toleration. One party represented and defended the old system; another advocated a limited toleration; and another still wholly rejected all the so-called "theocratic ideas," as untenable and even undesirable. Internal causes, too, had somewhat relaxed the existing system. Among the baptized

children of the members of the churches were many men of property, of estimable character, reputable lives, and social influence, who conformed to all the outward observances of the established religion, but who made no profession of regeneration, and consequently were not members of the churches, nor entitled to exercise the elective franchise. Taught from earliest childhood to reverence the institutions of religion, they insisted upon the benefits of baptism for their offspring and the civil privileges of church membership for themselves. In Connecticut, churches had been rent in pieces by this demand, and the Massachusetts Council was called to promote a reconciliation. About the time that the letter containing the king's demands was received, a synod had met to consider the question. After extended deliberation, the majority of the ministers and members voted to enlarge the basis of their polity by adopting the famous "half-way covenant." The children of reputable parents, who were orthodox in principle, and had themselves been baptized in infancy, although not members of the church were admitted to baptism, and became members of the Church so far as to become voters, although not allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper. They became half-way members. This measure was adopted in 1662.

From this period a gradual modification took place in the extreme politico-religious policy of the New England colonies, but the parish system, the levying of taxes for the support of the churches and other kindred provisions remained until some time after the American Revolution.

Section 5.—Religious Intolerance.

In New England.

It has been before noticed that the charter of the Massachusetts colony simply conferred the rights of English subjects. The first colonists being Churchmen at the time of their departure from England, this fact was supposed to be in itself a sufficient guaranty, and the colonists were left unrestricted in respect to religious liberty. The colony being settled and organized under the auspices of the English Government, there was no thought that the Church of England could be excluded or its introduction attended with difficulty. But we have seen that, almost from the first, these colonists broke away from the Church of England, and proceeded to consti-

tute independent churches and a civil polity based on the Church. Having thus sundered their former ecclesiastical relations, they henceforth regarded themselves as owing no obligations of allegiance or courtesy to the English Church, and were imbued with such prejudice and antagonism toward it that only with great difficulty could it be introduced into New England.

The Episcopalians.

"The people of the sturdy Puritan stock are not blameworthy for desiring to keep the country of their own way of belief, if they could. For nearly half a century they had had the opportunity to grow far toward an independent nation, on that ecclesiastical basis, and the presence of the Church of England would be a perpetual sign that this state of things was ended. Nor is it strange that they feared many evils from the admission of the *Book of Common Prayer* which never came to pass. But they resolutely shut their eyes to the fact that there were those among them who had an equal right with themselves to such religious institutions as they might choose. The Church of England had the misfortune to be, in the estimation of the mass of New Englanders, a part of the tyranny of the Stuarts. If it had been more free from such associations, perhaps they would have feared and hated it less." *

It is a fact to be noted that for over sixty years after the Pilgrims landed there was not a single Episcopal church in New England. On the arrival of the royal commissioners in Boston, in 1686, they caused the English Church service to be celebrated in that city—the first ever observed in the town. The local authorities remonstrated, but in vain, and the Old South Church was jointly occupied by its owners and by an Episcopal congregation. For a long time no one could be found willing to sell land on which to erect an Episcopal church; but finally Governor Andros and his council used their authority as the supreme governing body, appropriated a corner of the old burying ground for that purpose, and King's Chapel, the first Episcopal church in New England, was erected in 1688.

After the organization of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1701, something more was accomplished, despite bitter hatred and penal enactments. Missionaries were sent into various portions of New England and into other colonies. So much progress was made that the Church of England was petitioned

* *The Memorial History of Boston.* J. R. Osgood. 1880. Edited by Justin Winsor, LL.D. Vol. I, p. 196. Article by Rev. H. W. Foote.

to appoint Bishops for America; but the application was opposed by dissenters in England, and by Puritans and others in America. Two non-juring Bishops, however, were appointed (1722) for America—Rev. Drs. R. Welton and J. Talbot, the former in Philadelphia, and the latter in Burlington, N. J. "But they were not allowed to exercise their episcopal functions, except by stealth, and the government soon interfered, and put an entire stop to all action on their part."

When, about 1720, several persons prominently connected with Yale College were discovered leaning toward episcopacy, grave fears were entertained "lest the introduction of Episcopal worship into the colony should have a tendency to gradually undermine the foundations of civil and religious liberty." When, a little later, Episcopal churches were organized in Connecticut, their members were imprisoned, their property was taxed for the support of the "Standing Order;" and when appeal was made to the Governor for relief, he showed them no favor, but ordered a rigid enforcement of the obligations, even to the imprisonment of those refusing to pay. These are a few specimens of the difficulties, the severities, vigorous persecutions, and civil disabilities amid which the Episcopal Church was introduced into some of the colonies.

The Baptists.

The Congregational were the only churches organized in Massachusetts, until the founding of the first Baptist church in 1662. Numerous attempts to establish Baptist churches in that State had been previously made, in which the names of Messrs. John Clarke and Obadiah Holmes figure largely. In 1639, the same year in which the first Baptist church was founded in Providence, an attempt was made in Weymouth, near Boston; but the promoters of the design were arraigned before the general court and subjected to fines, disfranchisement, imprisonment, etc. In 1644, a poor man by the name of Painter, for expressing an opinion against infant baptism, was tied up and whipped.* In 1644, a law was passed providing for the banishment of Baptists from the colony. In 1651, Messrs. Clarke, Holmes and Crandall, representatives of the Baptist church at Newport, R. I., visiting one of their aged and infirm brethren at Lynn, Mass., and holding religious services in his house, were arrested, put in prison, and sentenced to pay fines of £30, £20, and £5 each, or to be publicly whipped. The case of Mr. Holmes was

* Backus's *History*. Vol. I, pp. 151, etc.

pushed to the extreme, and after being confined in prison he was publicly whipped with a three-corded lash upon his bare back, receiving thirty strokes administered with the utmost strength of the administrator. Warrants were issued against thirteen persons whose only crime was showing some sympathy with Mr. Holmes. In 1663, the first Baptist church in Massachusetts was formed in Swansea, near the line of Rhode Island, and, two years after, the first in Boston. "In a few months after the organization of this feeble church their trouble commenced, and continued with much severity for a number of years, and some of the members spent most of their time in courts and prisons; they were often fined, and finally the sentence of banishment was pronounced against them, which, however, they did not see fit to obey." . . . "The burden of all the complaints was that they formed a church *without the approbation of the ruling powers.*"* In Maine there were similar experiences. The first Baptists suffered slanders, abuse and legalized tyranny; and persons who met with them for worship were repeatedly summoned before a magistrate and threatened with fines in case of future offenses. Fines as high as £10 were inflicted upon some. The first Baptist church in Maine, organized at Kittery in 1681, encountered storms, violence, obloquy, fines and imprisonment, and, in less than one year from its formation, the church was dissolved, and its members scattered like sheep upon the mountains. No other Baptist church was organized in Maine until 1764.

The Baptists were numerically few in all the colonies, especially in New England. They were Congregational in polity, but did not submit the control of their churches to outside parishes, not even in part. In their estimation, the existence of parish societies, composed in part or altogether of persons who are not members of the Church, and allowed directly or indirectly to control the action of the Church, was to be avoided. All such extraneous organizations they believed to be contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Bible, erroneous in principle and pernicious in results. Until within comparatively a brief period, the laws of Massachusetts did not recognize a Baptist church as entitled to any rights of property, or as having any corporate existence. It was necessary, therefore, for individual members to organize as "private societies," associated for the secular business of the Church. In New York and Virginia, the Baptists suffered from similar privations and intolerance.

* *History of the Baptists.* By David Benedict. 1848, p. 383.

Cases of Roger Williams, the Quakers, etc.

Numerous instances of alleged religious intolerance have been popularly cited, in both the historical and the more transient literature of the last two centuries, until they have become as familiar as household words. The cases in the sub-heading above are the more notable ones. A different view from that popularly entertained has been taken by some of the most intelligent and discriminating persons; and a just exhibit of the cases requires that the considerations by which they have been led to dissent from the popular verdict should be briefly given. It is claimed that in the cases of Roger Williams, Ann Hutchinson, the Quakers, and some others, there was no persecution for merely holding religious opinions different from those of the established church of the colony; that there was no attempt at enforcement of the conscience; and that therefore these persons cannot be regarded as martyrs for the faith, inasmuch as they had liberty to entertain whatever religious opinions they chose, and their relations to their Maker were never matters of civil inquiry.

In the case of Roger Williams, it is claimed that he was banished because he disturbed the civil order of the colony, stirring up strife and revolt, so that he could no longer remain consistently with the public safety; that he made himself justly obnoxious to the magistrates by denying their power to punish perjury, blasphemy, and Sabbath-breaking, crimes still punishable under civil statutes; that he caused great alarm by publicly proclaiming that the patent under which the colony was settled was invalid, and the titles to the land under it worthless, thus exposing the colony to the displeasure of the English Court at a time when the relations to the crown were very critical; that when, for the greater security of the colony, the colonial legislature enacted that all males over sixteen years should take an oath of fidelity, Mr. Williams not only refused to take it, but also strenuously maintained that it was wrong for a magistrate to administer an oath to an unregenerate man, thus striking a blow at the root of civil society and embarrassing the ordinary administration of justice; and that Mr. Williams induced the church at Salem to write to the churches of which the magistrates were members, complaining of their official acts, and urging that they should be disciplined—an act so seditious in its character that, according to the custom of those times, it would have resulted in their disfranchisement and removal from office.

The act of the general court (Sept. 3, 1635), expelling Mr. Williams from the colony, was in these words: "Whereas, Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church in Salem, hath broached and divulged new and dangerous opinions against the authority of the magistrates, and also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here, and yet maintaineth the same without retraction, it is therefore ordered," etc. Mr. Williams himself, in a book published by him in London, in 1643,* states the grounds of his banishment to have been the following opinions:—

1. That we have not our land by patent from the king, but that the natives are the true owners of it, † and that we ought to repent of such a receiving of it by patent.

2. That it is not lawful to call a wicked person to swear or to pray, as being actions of God's worship.

3. That it is not lawful to hear any of the ministers of the parish assemblies in England.

4. That the civil magistrate's power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward state of men.

To this publication Mr. Cotton replied that it was not for the mere holding of opinions, but for the *turbulent assertion of them*, that Mr. Williams was banished. He dwelt at length upon two reasons which caused his banishment:—

1. His violent and tumultuous carriage against the patent.
2. His vehement opposition to the Oath of Fidelity. ‡

Hon. John Quincy Adams (Address before the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1843), said—"Can we blame the founders of the Massachusetts Colony for banishing him (Williams) from within their jurisdiction? In the annals of religious persecution is there to be found a martyr more gently dealt with by those against whom he began the war of intolerance?" §

As to the Quakers, the number who suffered fine, imprisonment, or whipping in Massachusetts was about thirty; twenty-two were banished on pain of death, if they returned; three had their right ear cut off, and four suffered death by hanging. No sufficient excuse can be offered for these severities, and yet some alleviating considerations demand attention.

* Entitled "*Mr. Cotton's Letter*, lately printed, examined, and answered."

† Excepting the lands of the Pequots and Narragansetts, which were gained by conquest, our fathers bought the soil from the Indians, paying them a fair value for it for the mere purpose of hunting—for which it was chiefly held—and the Indians made no complaint of dissatisfaction with the price. The patent protected them only against European adventurers. See Palfrey's *History of New England*, Vol. I, p. 387.

‡ *Cotton's Reply to Williams*, pp. 27, 30.

§ For a fuller discussion see *Congregational Quarterly*, July 1873, pp. 395, 402.

It is claimed that the Quakers of that time were not the quiet, peace-loving, amiable, benevolent Friends of the more recent times, but "rioting, turbulent, and provoking;"* that they were "guilty of blasphemy, sedition, and general disorder;" and that "they continually disturbed congregations assembled for worship." It is related that "Margaret Brewster went into a meeting-house with her face smeared over as with black paint;" that "Deborah Wilson went through the town of Salem naked, as a sign to the people;" that "Lydia Wardwell went into the meeting-house in Newberry, Massachusetts, as naked as she was born;" that they initiated strife, trampled on the laws, set at naught the constituted civil authority, and with a stiff audacity courted the extreme penalties of the law; and that the general court of Massachusetts at first only threatened, then sent them away, and finally banished them.†

The treatment of Ann Hutchinson and the Antinomians has also been vindicated on considerations of public order.‡ One of the editors of the *Congregational Quarterly*,§ who discusses these questions in a very able manner, deserves attention here:

"We can only judge correctly of their motives by placing ourselves in the situation in which they found themselves. A feeble and struggling colony, they had no means of self-preservation but by guarding against the intrusion of men from abroad, either disorderly in conduct, unruly and insubordinate in spirit, or hostile or unsympathetic in their views, who might come in, under their popular form of government, and defeat the very purposes for which they had exiled themselves from the mother country. For half a century or more they had been smarting under the rod of persecution inflicted by the Episcopal Church, and they might, moreover, have seen the effects of its policy upon the Virginia Colony. Did it partake of theocracy that they sent home the half dozen, more or less, who had undertaken without being invited to settle among them, and that they were not willing that others of the same class should come into their communion? Worthy as the Baptists‖ have proved themselves to be of the confidence and respect of good men in our time, the time was, and that as late as the settlement

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* Bishop Burnett speaks of them as the most dangerous sect known in England in his time.

† *Congregational Quarterly*, April, 1873, pp. 281, 283.

‡ *Congregational Quarterly*. Articles by Rev. John A. Vinton, April, July, and October, 1873.

§ *Congregational Quarterly*, October, 1883, pp. 590, 592.

‖ The law against the Baptists was enacted in 1644. On Nov. 4, 1646, the general court put forth the following explanation: "The truth is, the great trouble we have been putt unto and hazard also by Familisticall and Anabaptisticall spirits, whose conscience and religion hath been only to sett forth themselves and raise contentions in the country, did provoke us to provide for our safety by a lawe that all such should take notice how unwelcome they should be to us either coming or staying. But for such as differ from us only in judgment in point of baptism or some other points of lesse consequence, and live peaceably among us without occasioning disturbance, . . . such have no cause to complaine, for it hath never beene as yet putt in execution against any of them, although such are knowne to live amongst us." See *Hutchinson Papers*.

of New England, when the wild and lawless extravagance of the Anabaptists in Munster was still fresh in the public memory; * and an outbreak of men of the same denomination in London, under one of their preachers, as late as 1661, and which was only suppressed after a bloody conflict with the troops, shows with what dread the men of New England must have regarded an influx of religious zealots whose antecedents, as to a quiet and orderly life, must have been so alarming. So with the Quakers. Aside from the estimate in which they were held in England, the people of Massachusetts had seen enough in their own streets and houses of worship to feel that the public order would never be safe if such open disturbers of the peace went unpunished; and though we might not, by any means, be ready to commend the wisdom or humanity of the treatment extended to these sects, there is no occasion to ascribe this to any other motive than a wish to maintain *civil* government and preserve peace and good order in the community. Nor is it necessary to infer that those who made and administered laws to this effect were actuated by a desire to interfere with the consciences or religious opinions of any class of the people, independent of their conduct as citizens, any more than it is that, in making war upon the indecencies or polygamy of the Mormons, the government is hostile to the freedom of religious opinion."

"The Blue Laws of Connecticut"

have been popularly referred to as specimens of the narrowness and intolerance of the colonial fathers. It is due to their memory to state that these legendary laws never existed except in the imagination of their originator, as is well known to persons of historical information. They originally appeared in a burlesque history of Connecticut, written some one hundred years ago by Rev. Samuel A. Peters, born in Hebron, Connecticut, in 1735. He preached for several years in Hartford and also in his native town. When the Revolution broke out he made himself obnoxious by his intemperate advocacy of Tory principles, denouncing the American cause, from the pulpit and in private, in such terms that his parishioners turned against him. The storm rose † so high that he fled to England in 1774, and in 1781 ‡ he published the work alluded to, in London, in revenge for his treatment by his countrymen. It was never regarded in any other light than as a burlesque, until about forty years ago, in the heat of the anti-slavery excitement, a Southern orator in Congress, by way of retaliation, in an extremity of debate quoted from Peters's book

* John Bockholdt, an Anabaptist of Leyden, with a body of followers, seized the city of Munster, usurped the government, and committed crimes and outrages against decency. He and his followers, men and women, after praying and preaching four hours, stripped themselves naked and ran through the streets of the city. Mosheim, Cent. xvi., sec. ii. Robertson's Charles V., Book V.

† We cannot here relate the whole story.

‡ Republished in the United States in 1829 as a curiosity.

the laws referred to as an illustration of Yankee bigotry. It soon became a popular stock argument against New Englanders.

A gentleman who has closely investigated the matter says—"On examining the more prominent statements of Peters, not one has been found which is not either false or so deformed by exaggerations and perversions as to be essentially erroneous." Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D., called Peters's book "that most unscrupulous and malicious of lying narratives." *

Hon. John S. Peters, M.D., LL.D., ex-governor of Connecticut, referring to the book in question, said—"It contains many statements which are alike apochryphal and ludicrous, and I am not aware that it was ever quoted as historical authority." †

Doubtless in all the New England colonies, and in the New York, Virginia and other colonies, it is easy to find laws and usages which we should now call wrong and severe, not to say bigoted and cruel, but they were universally characteristic of those times, in Europe as well as in America. By the law of Massachusetts, 1692, a man absenting himself from public worship on Sunday for a month was punished by a fine to be imposed by a civil court. By the law of Elizabeth (see "1st Elizabeth,") he was liable to be punished by the censures of the Church and also to forfeit a sum of money.

Intolerance in Virginia.

Instances of religious intolerance occurred in the Virginia Colony, extending through a period of about one hundred and thirty years. A few Puritans settled in the colony as early as 1619,‡ but the number was too small to make much change in the religious opinions of the people. In 1642, certain citizens who deplored the low state of religion made application for religious teachers from Massachusetts, and Rev. Messrs. Thompson, of Braintree, Knolls, of Watertown, and James, of New Haven, went as Congregational missionaries to labor in Virginia. Their stay, however, was short, for the legislature immediately enacted that no minister should be allowed to officiate in the colony but such as had been ordained by some English Bishop, and pledged conformity to the form and usages of the Church of England. They were soon banished from the colony, and after a few years their followers were wholly dispersed. §

The law of 1661 enforced, with great stringency, conformity to

* *History of Discipline at New Haven.* By Mr. Kingsley, 1838, pp. 83, 90.

† Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit.* Volume on the Episcopal Church, p. 194.

‡ Graham's *History of the United States*, p. 219, and Hawks's *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, p. 35.

§ Hawks's *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, pp. 36, 53, 57.

the Established Church against Quakers and other non-conformists. It provided that each Quaker attending "an unlawful assembly or conventicle," if taken there, should pay a fine of two hundred pounds of tobacco for each offense, and that "schismatical persons, either out of averseness to the orthodox, established religion, or out of the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions," who should "refuse to have their children baptized, in contempt of the divine sacrament of baptism," should be fined two thousand pounds of tobacco; half to the parish and half to the informer.*

French colonists, fleeing after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were allowed to settle and establish their worship (Presbyterian) under the provisions of the special act of the Assembly in 1700. In 1713, a similar favor was granted to a colony of German emigrants. Both of these classes were exempted from taxes for the support of the Established Church. In 1746, the governor issued a proclamation forbidding, under the severest penalties, "the meeting of Moravians, New Lights, and Methodists." †

Early in the last century the Baptists began to appear in Virginia. At first they excited no alarm, being very poor, their ministers generally illiterate, and their efforts being directed to places remote and obscure. It was not until they began to increase rapidly that they were assailed and persecuted. They were constantly kept in view in the legislation of the colony, and persecuting laws were framed with the special design of hindering the spread of their opinions or driving them from the colony. In some parts of the colony the Baptists were not disturbed; but in others, alarmed by their increase, the men in power strained every penal law in the Virginia code to suppress them. "About thirty ministers were imprisoned, and some as many as four times each, for different periods of time, besides a number of exhorters and their companions, whose only fault was their being in company with their clerical brethren. . . . In some cases drums were beaten in the time of service; high inclosures were erected before the prison windows by malicious opponents; matches and other suffocating materials were burnt outside the prison doors. . . . In the midst of their struggles this oppressed people were so fortunate as to secure the interest of the famous Patrick Henry, who espoused their cause." ‡

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* See Hawks's *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, pp. 66, 68; also, Trott's laws of *British Plantations in America*.

† 13th, B. Burke. Pp. 124, 5, 6.

‡ *History of the Baptists*. By David Benedict, 1848, p. 655.

The Presbyterians entered Virginia almost simultaneously with the Baptists, and were subjected to many annoyances and persecutions. After 1745 they were allowed to settle in the more remote portions of the State, to the westward, where their first churches were established. They sent a deputation to the Synod of New York, which met that year, asking aid in their troubles. The Synod prepared an address to the governor, and commissioned Rev. Messrs. Tennent and Finley as bearers of the message. The governor received them respectfully and gave them liberty to preach. But, soon after they left, fines were again inflicted upon Presbyterians for not attending upon the services of the Established Church.

In 1747, the Synod sent the Rev. Samuel Davies to labor in Virginia. This gentleman became more influential than any other Presbyterian divine in placing the denomination on a secure foundation. "At the time of his settlement in the county of Hanover, according to his own testimony, there were not ten avowed dissenters within one hundred miles of him. On his arrival, his first care was to secure himself and his followers from molestation by a compliance with the laws of the colony. The terms on which dissenters were tolerated were, obtaining a license from some judicial body for each meeting-house, causing such license to be put upon record, taking the usual oaths of fidelity to the government, and subscribing to the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with certain enumerated exceptions. These exceptions embraced the thirty-fourth, concerning 'traditions in the Church,' the thirty-fifth, 'of the homilies,' the thirty-sixth, 'of the consecration of bishops and ministers,' and so much of the twentieth as declares that the 'Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.'" * Mr. Davies complied with these terms and obtained licenses for four "meeting-houses," and, soon after, for three more. Among these he divided his labors, although some of them were forty miles distant from the others. They were in the counties of Hanover, Henrico, Caroline, Louisa, and Goochland. In this region Presbyterianism in Virginia had its origin, under the ministrations of this eminent servant of God. Mr. Davies possessed talents of a high order; was gifted with remarkable eloquence, readily attracting hearers. In three years his congregation became large, and three hundred communicants were gathered into his churches. He was subsequently removed to the presidency of Princeton College, but not until he had distinguished himself in contesting the provisions of the English "act of toleration" before

* Hawks's *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, p. 108.

the colonial courts, and sustained his cause against the legal acumen and eloquence of Hon. Peyton Randolph.

Intolerance in Maryland.

In 1704 "An Act to prevent the increase of popery in the province" was passed, prohibiting bishops and priests from saying mass and exercising other spiritual functions except in private houses. Subsequently Catholics were deprived of the elective franchise, unless they took a test oath and renounced their faith. Other oppressive enactments followed, so that, in 1752, Mr. Daniel Carroll, father of the subsequent Bishop Carroll, went to France to negotiate with the French government for the emigration of the Maryland Catholics to Louisiana.* The project, however, failed. For seventy years no mass was said anywhere in the State, except in private chapels and families. During this time no Catholic churches were erected, and only a few chapels on plantations owned by the Jesuits: to whom large tracts of land had been conveyed by the Indian kings, thus eluding the reach of the law. In 1774, there was no Catholic chapel even in Baltimore; that city was then only a "station," visited once a month by a "father" from a farm at Whitemarsh, carrying his vestments and plate with him, and mass was said in a private room. At last, on the eve of the Revolution, early in 1776, a "Declaration of Rights" was voted by the assembly, granting full religious toleration. But, in the whole extent of Maryland, there were then only twenty priests, Jesuits, and they were under ecclesiastical condemnation, the order having been suppressed as a society only three years before by the famous bull of the pope.

In New York.

Instances of religious oppression occurred in this colony. The ties of relationship, a common faith, and the persecutions endured by Protestants before coming to America, were not sufficient to teach them the lessons of charity and toleration, and the Lutherans of New Amsterdam were doomed to experience from their fellow Protestants some of the rigor and unkind treatment both had suffered at home. Among the earliest colonists there was no formal union of the Church and State, and yet they were very unwilling to allow any but the Reformed Dutch Church to exist in the province. A little band of Lutherans, who joined the colony almost at its com-

* *History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* By Henry De Courcey. Enlarged by John Gilmary Shea. New York. 1857. Published by Edward Dunigan & Bro. P. 33.

mencement, were not allowed to hold their worship publicly until after the English rule was established, in 1664. In 1656, George Stuyvesant forbade ministers from holding religious gatherings not in harmony with the Reformed Church. Under his administration Quakers were fined, imprisoned, and banished; but he was not fully sustained in all these proceedings by the magistrates of Amsterdam. They formally reproved him, and declared that "The consciences of men ought to be free and unshackled so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive, and not hostile to the government." When the New Netherlands were surrendered to the English crown (1664) the Lutherans received the privilege of worshiping God according to their own convictions.* The Church of England took the place of the Classis of Amsterdam, hitherto the supreme and only ecclesiastical authority. Under the English, attendance upon the Episcopal Church was not made compulsory. But the first Baptist minister† who preached in New York City, about 1665, was imprisoned four months, and no further efforts were made to establish that denomination in that province until about 1712, when they were not molested. The first Presbyterians‡ also were persecuted, and their first ministers, Revs. Francis Makemie and John Hampton, were imprisoned and heavily fined, in 1707, for preaching in a private house.

Treatment of the Roman Catholics by the Protestant Colonists.

From nearly all the Protestant English settlements the Roman Catholics were excluded. The colonists, recently escaped from the intolerance of Rome, were slow to forget what they had suffered, and were jealous of her approach. Only in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania was there more liberty; hence from the settlement of Maryland down to the war of the Revolution there was little opportunity§ for the Roman Catholics to settle in the other colonies.

* Professor Schmucker's *Retrospect of Lutheranism in the United States.* P. 6.

† Rev. Wm. Wickenden, of Providence, R. I. See Benedict's *History of the Baptists.* New York. Louis Colby & Co. 1848, p. 541.

‡ *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D. Presbyterian Publication Society, Philadelphia. Vol. I, pp. 11–16.

§ Catholics have complained of the intolerance of the early colonial governments against them, particularly in New York and New England. It should be mentioned that the intimate and friendly relations of the Jesuit missionaries with the Indians brought the former under the imputation of complicity with them, in the frequent bloody massacres which were occurring in the settlements. The colonists thought they had good evidence of such co-operation in many cases. The preamble of "An Act against Jesuits and popish priests," which passed in the New York Assembly in the year 1700, shows that they acted under this conviction. It charged that "divers Jesuits, priests, and popish missionaries have of late industriously labored to debauch, seduce, and withdraw the Indians from their obedience, and to excite and stir them up to sedition,

At this early period there were no Roman Catholic churches in Rhode Island. In Pennsylvania, while religious liberty was indeed under no legal restraint, and the State was an asylum for Roman Catholics excluded elsewhere, yet the papists complained that it was difficult for the Quakers to see that Romanists ought to enjoy as much liberty as the Friends. Romanists confessed that they were neither "hanged, banished, pillaged nor taxed by the Quakers," but they felt there was "something cold and repulsive in the countenances of their hosts which expressed plainly enough what no one was willing to say." *

Section 6.—General Considerations.

In considering the severity of the civil penalties and the acts of intolerance in any of the early American colonies, it would be unjust to judge our fathers by any other standard than that of their own times. It should not be forgotten that in the two centuries which have since intervened great progress has been made in regard to the rights of conscience and the nature of religious liberty. The right of individual belief was then admitted only in a very narrow circle. On the continent of Europe, and in Great Britain, cruel persecutions and severities were every-where inflicted upon dissenters. According to Neale,† 1662, by the "Act of Uniformity" two thousand English ministers, called by Locke "worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines," were deprived of their "livings" because they could not conscientiously submit to re-ordination, and assent to every word and sentence of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Under the "Conventicle Act" (1664), it became a crime to attend religious

rebellion, and open hostility. They were therefore ordered to d-part from the province, and threatened with death if they did not obey. The terrible scenes of Schenectady were fresh in their minds. This law was clearly an act of state policy, for the promotion of the public safety. The Massachusetts Legislature acted on the same policy in the much-complained-of treatment of Father Sebastian Rasles, the French Jesuit missionary at Norridgewock, Me. Some of his own papers fell into the hands of the government of Massachusetts, from which it appeared that he was in correspondence with the French governor in Canada, by whose aid he hoped to exclude the English settlers from the region where he resided, and that he accompanied an expedition of the Indians against the colonies, and acted a conspicuous part in at least one attack upon their settlements. The evidence was so conclusive that the Massachusetts Government undertook to arrest him, and at last, August 23, 1724, the Indian village at Norridgewock was attacked and destroyed, and Rasles fell in the battle. See *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series. Vol. VIII., pp. 250, 266. Also, *American Quarterly Register*. 1841. P. 23.

* Letter on Roman Catholic missions in the United States to the Lyons Propaganda, by Rev. Bishop England, Catholic Bishop of Charleston, S. C. Published in the *Annales* of the Propaganda for May 1838. See *American Quarterly Register*. November, 1841. P. 142.

† *History of the Puritans*. Vol. IV., pp. 306–406.

services, conducted otherwise than according to the liturgy of the Church of England; punishable by heavy fines, imprisonment, transportation, and, in case of return, death. Without the verdict of a jury, on the oath of a single informer, and without appeal, in the course of two reigns about eight thousand dissenters perished in prison, and sixty thousand suffered in various other ways, the loss of property alone amounting, it is supposed, to twelve millions sterling.* Such were the prevailing customs of the times and the current of public sentiment. Under such an ecclesiastico-civil polity as then every-where prevailed, the relations of man with his Maker were presumed to come within the province of human law. Religious intolerance was therefore the natural fruitage of such a system, and only under the more favorable circumstances of an enlightened Christian civilization and culture will it be restrained. It must be admitted that among the American colonists, even in those rude times, examples of religious oppression were far less numerous and severe than in the countries from which they emigrated. In respect to toleration they were far in advance of the rest of the world.

The penal inflictions of the colonial era are often referred to as severe and barbarous; especially have those among the Puritans of New England been denounced in terms of intense detestation, as though they were exceptionally brutal. A review of the times, however, will afford evidence that those of the New Englanders were similar to the penalties inflicted in other colonies, and also in England and Continental Europe, only very much more humane. It would be unreasonable to expect the men of the seventeenth and eighteenth century to be abreast with those of the nineteenth century in philanthropy and the gentle amenities of life. We are to compare them with the customs of the country from which they came, in order to judge of their status. When the *Mayflower* left England thirty-one offenses were punishable with death in the mother country. By the middle of that century the black list had enlarged to 223, of which 176 were without the benefit of the clergy. How far in advance the New England colonies were is evident from the fact that not a single colony code recognized more than fifteen capital crimes.

So enormous an English list argues an excessive brutality of public sentiment. And we shall find this confirmed from many sources. For example: In 1604 a man named Ford petitioned the king to the effect that the Lord Chancellor had done him great injustice. For the offense of this petition, "traducing and scandalizing" that high functionary—the said Lord Chancellor—the said Ford was sen-

* Neale's *History of the Puritans*. Vol. IV, p. 480, etc., Vol. V, p. 161, etc.

tenced to ride with his face to the tail of the beast from the Fleet prison to Westminster, with his crime placarded on his head; to acknowledge that crime in all the courts of Westminster; to stand "a reasonable time" in the pillory; to have one of his ears cut off; to be remanded to jail for a few days and then have the other ear cut off at Cheapside; to pay a fine of £1,000; and to be imprisoned for life. Two years before the *Mayflower* sailed a man named Wrennum was convicted of a like offense and condemned to the same penalties. Two years before Boston was settled a Scotch divine of eminence named Alexander Leighton, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, published a book called an *Appeal to the Parliament*, in which he used strong enough language to call the prelates "men of blood," the bishops "ravens and magpies," the canons of 1603 "nonsense canons," and so on. We have two editions of the book, and while there are several such earnest expressions which the best taste must condemn, we find nothing in either which in our day would subject an author to any further penalty than the criticism, that his blows would have hurt more if he had not struck quite so hard. Leighton was put on trial before the Star Chamber and confessed the writing, but pleaded good intent. The court made short work of him, declaring that he had committed "a most odious and heinous offense, deserving the severest punishment the court could inflict, for framing and publishing a Book so full of most pestilent, devilish and dangerous Assertions, to the scandal of the King, Queen and Peers, *especially the Bishops*."

It was accordingly unanimously ordered that he be degraded from his ministry into a lay condition, in which he could be legally whipped; that he be whipped and set in the pillory at Westminster; that one of his ears be cut off, one side of his nose be slit, and he be branded on one cheek by a red hot iron, with the letters S. S. [stirrer of sedition]; that, fourteen days thereafter, he be whipped again at Cheapside, the other ear cut off, the other side of his nose slit, and the other cheek branded as the first; that he pay the (then) enormous fine of £10,000; that he be imprisoned for life.

In 1633 William Prynne, one of the most learned and industrious barristers of his time, having written a book called *Histriomastix*, whereby—as also aforetime in other ways—he had especially angered Archbishop Laud, was put through the same sort of discipline which poor Leighton had suffered. Three years later he in some way found means to publish a few more plain words distasteful to the archbishop, when he was hauled out of prison, the stumps of his ears cut down clean, £5,000 added to his fine, and his cheeks branded S. L. [seditious libeler] all of which was, with full barbarity, executed.*

What was done in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, for an offense much more henious, transpiring at the very same time? Roger Williams, for "trying to knock the bottom out of all their civil and social fabric by publicly teaching that the colony had no valid title to its land," ranting against official oaths, and inciting the people against the magistrates, instead of being fined, pilloried, cropped, imprisoned, branded, flayed alive, was *simply sent out* of the colony.

Dr. H. M. Dexter cites a few more cases which will help the reader to appreciate the situation:

* Editorial in the *Congregationalist*, November 20, 1884.

The English law down to 1772 condemned the prisoner who refused to plead to his offense to be pressed to death [*peine fort et dure*], and so late as 1741 this horrible punishmemt was inflicted there. Until 1790 (and that lacks yet three years of being a century) any woman convicted of counterfeiting English gold or silver coin was burned to death, although after 1700 it became humanely usual to strangle the victim quietly before kindling the fire. Twenty thousand people collected in 1773 to see Elizabeth Herring burned, and as late as 1786 a woman was burned in England for having made counterfeit shillings. Plymouth Colony must have been fifty years old before the burning of heretics became unlawful in England.

In the good old days of Henry VIII., it was legal to *boil* to death prisoners, and it was several times done. Long after that form of death was repealed in England it remained in force on the Continent for coiners and counterfeiters, and, by a refinement of cruelty, the boiling was made gradual, the victim being suspended by a rope over the bubbling oil and lowered by degrees into it.

An intelligent writer tells us how, in 1617, the body of the assassinated Ancre, Marechal of France, was treated. They "broke up his Grave, tore his Coffin to pieces, rip'd the Winding-sheet, and tied his Body to an Asses Tail, and so dragg'd him up and down the Gutters of Paris, which are none of the sweetest; they then sliced off his ears, and nail'd them upon the Gates of the City, they . . . [too indecent to be cited] . . . the rest of his Body they carried to the New-Bridg, and hung him with his Heels upward, and Head downwards upon a new Gibbet."

It was a mob which did thus, but *forty-three years later* we find the English Parliament deliberately passing a law whose results Evelyn describes under date of 30 Jan.–9 Feb., 1660–1:

"This day . . . were the carcasses of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshawe (the judge who condemned his majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the usurper) dragged out of their superb Tombs in Westminster, among the kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being Spectators. [N. B. Cromwell had been dead nearly 2 yrs. 5 mos.; Bradshawe, 1 yr. 2 mos.; Ireton, more than 9 yrs. 2 mos.]"

Moreover, it was as late as 16 Aug., 1746, when Walpole wrote to Montagu how people on the Strand before Temple Bar in London made a trade of letting, for a half-penny a sight, spyglasses to passers-by who wanted a good look at the traitors' heads, then impaled on the irons over the Bar: and in April, 1772, it is on record that one such head was still miserably sticking there.

These "dreadful and disgusting inhumanities" were perpetrated by whom? Refined and cultivated Europeans, mostly English Churchmen, graduates of Cambridge and Oxford. Such are the facts of modern history which should moderate our denunciations and charges of severity, brutality and narrow-mindedness against the colonial forefathers, who, it clearly appears, were much in advance of their times.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF PROTESTANTISM.

Sec. I. From 1607—1662.
" 2. From 1662—1720.
" 3. From 1720—1745.
Sec. 4. From 1745—1776.
" 5. Fruits of the Half Way Covenant.

AMID the convulsive throes of the reformation of the sixteenth century, a new people, with new ideas and institutions, was begotten. Escaping from the intolerance of the Old World, and moved by profound convictions of great religious responsibilities, they sought an asylum in America. As yet Protestantism had only passed through its inceptive stage. It had been neither fully developed nor tested, for the necessary conditions had not hitherto existed. In America, unembarrassed by the institutions of the Old World, it found the needful opportunity. By its doctrine of justification by faith Protestantism broke the thraldom of the hierarchy, which claimed to be the only medium of Divine communication, and threw each individual upon himself and his God. Thus personal religion passed from under the exclusive control of the sacraments and arbitrary prerogatives into stern and irrepressible conflicts with individual lusts and worldly influences. Instead of pompous rituals there were the deep realities of the inner life. The scourge of the hierarchy disappeared, but the struggle with sense and self went on.

Still recognizing the neccessity of a church, Protestantism nevertheless pressed with powerful intensity upon each individual the fact of his personal responsibility, and that he must carry the burden of his own sins to the foot of the cross. He must seek for himself access to God, and, in the spirit of adoption begotten in his heart by the Holy Ghost, must find a sweeter satisfaction than priestly absolutions or benedictions can impart.

What was to be the effect of these new religious conditions in the actual life of Protestant communities? Would religion under the fluctuation of individual affections, and the vacillation of individual wills, be characterized by alternations from enthusiasm to apathy? Or would this be only the more apparent and earlier aspect, while a closer scrutiny would reveal a deep, strong flow of

religious life, more spiritual and real than the products of priestly functions? Such was one phase of the religious problem to be solved on the American continent.

The religious life of the new communites in the colonial era—an era of crudeness, privation, fluctuation and embarrassment, with a semi-dependence upon European States and churches—now opens to inspection.

The survey of this period will not be exhaustive, leading phases being chiefly noticed, but with sufficient fullness to show the moral and religious character of the times.

Section 1.—From 1607 to 1662.

The colonies comprised within this period were those of Virginia, New England, New York, and Maryland.

Virginia.

Among the cavaliers who founded this "Mother of the Southern Colonies" religious ideas were not the most prominent, and yet the early records afford ample evidence that it was founded as a Christian colony.* The piety of the emigrants, stimulated by the exhortations of their pastor, led to the almost immediate erection of an edifice which was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God. When Lord De La War arrived with a new body of colonists, in 1610, the church bell was rung, and the people repaired to the sanctuary and united in thanksgiving and prayer. In the same year the Council of Virginia put forth an eloquent and stirring appeal, full of the genuine spirit of missions, seldom exceeded by public religious bodies in more recent times.†

Such was the spirit of the first colonists of Virginia, who up to

* The language of the royal instructions to the first colonists was, "to provide that the true Word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colony, but also as much as might be among the savages bordering upon them, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." Burk's *History of Virginia*. Vol. I, p. 91.

One of the reasons for the grant assigned in the first charter was that the colony, "under the providence of Almighty God, might tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God." Chapter I. Hazard's *State Papers*, p. 51.

† "O, all ye worthies, follow the ever-sounding trumpet of a blessed honor; let religion be the first aim of your hopes, and other things shall be cast unto you; your names shall be registered to posterity with a glorious title. *These* are the men whom God raised up to augment the state of their country and to propagate the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Neither ought any man to live under Augustus as if he lived under Domitian, to whom sluggishness and privacy is imputed for wisdom and policy. The same God that hath joined three kingdoms under one Cæsar will not be wanting to add a fourth, if we would dissolve the frosty iceinesse that chilleth our zeal and

this time had been left to their own sense of piety and the instructions of their spiritual teachers in promoting the cause of religion. Nothing more definite had been said than that the colonists were expected to conform to the Church of England. But from the arrival of Sir Thomas Dale, as governor, in 1611, the London Company attempted to regulate the religious affairs of the colony. "Lawes Diuine, morall, and martiall,"* were furnished, "to aid the colonists in keeping a good conscience." This was supposed to be necessary from the character of the emigrants who at that time were added to the colony. Many of them were "broken down gentlemen or persons fleeing from crime and shame, dissolute and profligate in habits, and unwilling to devote themselves to honest toil." Such laws, however, produced little restraint upon these classes, and a serious deterioration in morals was every year perceptible in the colony. This tendency was increased by the difficulty in obtaining good clergymen from England, and the tyranny and rapacity of Captain Argyll, who became deputy governer in 1617.

Amid the general corruption, there were two ministers in this earliest period who were eminent for piety and usefulness. Rev. Robert Hunt was a leader in the original colony and the first pastor. A man of modest and sterling Christian character, he exerted a salutary influence upon the people. He was especially noted for reconciling animosities, restraining the passionate, cheering the despondent, and for unselfish devotion to his work. In 1611, the second church was established, in the town of Henrico, and committed to the care of Rev. Alexander Whitaker.† At his hands the celebrated

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maketh us so cold in the action. But it is a mere idea, speculation, and fancy to sowe sparingly, and to expect for to reape plentifully; when a penurious supply is like the casting on of a little water upon a great fire, that quencheth not the heat, but augments it. . . . Let no man adore his gold as his God, nor his mammon as his Maker. If God have scattered his blessings upon you as snow, will you return no tributary acknowledgements of his goodnesse? If you will, can you select a more excellent subject than to cast down the altar of divels, that you may raise up the altar of Christ, to forbid the sacrifice of men, that they may offer up the sacrifice of contrite spirits. . . . Doubt ye not but God hath determined and demonstrated that he will raise our state and build his Church in this most excellent climate, if our action be seconded with resolution and religion." See *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Virginia Colony.* Published by advice and direction of the Council of Virginia, London 1610. Also *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia.* By Rev. Franicis L. Hawks D.D. 1836. Harper & Brothers. Pp. 30, 31.

*Stith's *History of Virginia.* P. 122, and Burk's *History of Virginia*, Vol. I, p. 165.

†The following description of Mr. Whitaker's character was sketched by a contemporary: "I hereby let all men know that a scholler, a graduate, a preacher well borne and friended in England, not in debt nor disgrace, but competently provided for, and liked and beloved where he lived; not in want, but (for a scholler, and as these days be) rich in possession, and more in possibilitie; of himself, without any persuasion, (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leave his warme nest, and to the wonder of his kindred and the amazement of them that knew him, undertook this hard, but in my judgement, heroicall resolution, to go to Virginia, and help to beare the name of God unto the Gentiles."

Indian princess Pocahontas received Christian baptism, and by him also she was united in marriage to Mr. Rolfe. Mr. Whitaker was honored with the title of "the Apostle of Virginia."

The Virginia Company seem to have felt the importance of promoting education in the colony. As early as 1619 they recommended "that each town, borough and hundred, should procure, by just means, a certain number of Indian children, to be brought up in the first elements of literature; and that the most towardly of them should be fitted for college," * in an edifice to be erected for that purpose. In furtherance of this object the king sent letters to the bishops of England, directing that collections should be taken in all the churches. The object, as stated, was "for training up and educating infidel (heathen) children in the knowledge of God." † In the midst of these efforts the project received a death-blow by the great Indian massacre of March 22, 1622, which was followed by a long and distracting Indian war. Seventy years then elapsed before another attempt to found a college.

Forty years after the founding of the colony the condition of religion was very low. In 1642 a messenger from Virginia visited Boston, bearing letters from individuals in that colony, "bewailing their sad condition, for the want of the means of salvation, and earnestly asking a supply of faithful ministers." The ministers sent were warmly welcomed by a few, and their labors were attended with some success, ‡ but they were soon dismissed from the colony and their congregations scattered. §

In referring to this period Bishop Meade ‖ has said, "I do not question the piety and fidelity of some of the people and pastors during the whole history. But that its spiritual condition was ever at any time even tolerably good, bearing a comparison with the mother Church, over whose defects also there was so much cause to mourn, faithful history forbids us to believe. Many were the disadvantages under which she had to labor during nearly the whole period of her connection with the Government of England, which were well calculated to sink her character beneath that of the Church of England and of some other churches in America. Immense were the difficulties of getting a full supply of ministers of any character,

* Burk's *History of Virginia*, p. 225.

† Stith's *History of Virginia*, p. 162.

‡ Winthrop's *Journal*, By Savage, p. 334. Also *American Quarterly Register*, Nov. 1831, pp. 125, 126.

§ *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia*, by Dr. Hawks, p. 57.

‖ *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, by Bishop Meade. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857, Vol. I, pp. 13, 14.

and of those who came how few were faithful, and duly qualified for the station!

"The Council of Virginia also addressed the most solemn and pathetic appeals to the clergy of England, beseeching them to come over to the work of the Lord in the colony, though it is to be feared with little success; for, in the year 1655, it is recorded that many places were destitute of ministers and likely still to continue so, the people not paying their 'accustomed dues.'* There were at this time about fifty parishes in the colony, most of which were destitute of clergymen, as there were only ten ministers for their supply."

New England.

The settlement of *New England* followed thirteen years behind Virginia. The high religious character of its Pilgrim and Puritan founders has passed into undisputed history. Their religion was not merely an abstract principle. It existed in vigorous concrete forms and was both a dogma and a life. Whatever became its subsequent condition, religion was the chief concern of the first settlers. From 1630 to 1660 revivals of religion were very numerous, well-nigh uninterrupted, in some of the leading churches. The pulpit ministrations of some early Puritan ministers have been described as very spiritual, "lively, searching and awakening." The Holy Spirit was copiously poured out, and spiritual power was the distinctive glory of the churches—the legitimate result of the intense religious motives that prompted the emigration. In the early colonial annals it is said, "some of their ministers seldom preached without producing religious awakenings." This was particularly true of Revs. Messrs. Cotton, of Boston, and Shepard and Mitchell, of Cambridge. In 1634, under the ministry of Mr. Cotton, marked revival influences† were enjoyed, and from that time to 1652 six hundred and forty-nine‡ persons were received into the First Church, in nearly equal numbers of men and women.

The Sabbath services were usually protracted to a great length, and in the evening of the Lord's day the sermons which had been listened to in public were repeated and reviewed at home. Meetings were also held during the week, by the male members of the church, for recapitulating and discussing the Sabbath services. The

* The clergy were supported by a tax paid in tobacco.

† Winthrop's *Journal*, Dec. 1633, gives a valuable testimonial to the character of Mr. Cotton, as a man and a minister.

‡ See Emerson's *History of the First Church, Boston*, p. 81.

time not absolutely required for secular business was given to religious discourse. Religious lectures were delivered each week, involving an amount of labor which made two pastors necessary in the larger churches. It is said that at one time an excess of religious services in some places interfered with the necessary secular labors of the infant colony, and obliged the magistrates to restrict the week-day lectures to one each week. But even then some of the people would go from town to town to attend them. An annual fast-day in the spring, and a day of thanksgiving in the autumn, were the only holidays, and they were religiously observed. Christmas, Lent and other festivals of the Romish and English churches, were wholly discarded as idolatrous, and the eating of mince pies on Christmas, or any thing else giving to the day a festive character, was regarded as superstitious and wicked. In their revolt from the papal doctrine of marriage as a sacrament, they declared it to be a civil contract, to be administered by a magistrate; while baptism, instead of being dispensed to all, as in the older churches, was restricted to the spiritually regenerated and their offspring. All amusements were proscribed and gayety was regarded as a sin, so that the colony became noted for the rigor and austerity of its morals—"a convent of Puritan devotees."

The New England fathers of this period were men of prayer, with an overpowering sense of the sovereignty of God, his direct intervention in all human occurrences, and the power of prayer to reach and influence him. The annals of the old churches are full of records of special days of fasting and prayer, and days of thanksgiving and praise. Nothing seemed too great or too trivial to be brought to the throne of grace.

The early churches of Cambridge and Watertown were favored with the labors of eminently spiritual men—Revs. Thomas Shepard and George Phillips—the former styled the Baxter of New England. When the location of Harvard College was being determined, in 1638, Cambridge was selected because of "the energy and searching character of Mr. Shepard's preaching and his skill in detecting errors." * His congregation was quaintly described † as "a gracious, savory, spirited people, principled by Mr. Shepard, liking a humbling, mourning, heart-breaking ministry and spirit; living in religion, praying men and women." Mr. Shepard deeply impressed the students of the infant college, and many eminent preachers trained there confessed their great indebtedness to his

* *American Quarterly Register*, Nov., 1831, p. 126.

† By his successor, Mr. Mitchell.

words and example. One of them, Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, a graduate of Harvard College in 1648, followed Mr. Shepard in the pastorate of the Cambridge Church in 1650, and nearly rivaled him in talents and piety. He was called "the holy, meek and heavenly Mitchell;" "the matchless Mitchell." Richard Baxter said of him that "if there could be convened an Ecumenical Council of the whole Christian world Mitchell would be worthy to be the moderator of it."

Cambridge was an important religious center. Five sessions of the early Synod were held there between 1637 and 1689.* The Synod which settled the famous controversy with Ann Hutchinson and the other Antinomians met with this church. In this place, also, the celebrated "Cambridge Platform" was adopted, and missionaries were first sent forth among the Indians—the first Protestant missionaries to the heathen. The first printing-press in America, said to have been the gift of friends in Holland, was set up in Cambridge under the charge of Stephen Day, and a metrical version of the Psalms, prepared by Eliot, Welde and Mather, was published, and long continued in use in the New England churches. The first Protestant translations into a heathen tongue—Eliot's *Indian Bible* and religious tracts for Indians—were also printed there. In these works the Cambridge Church, under the lead of its eminent pastor, took a lively interest. †

In 1636, the General Court founded in Cambridge a school for the education of ministers, which was soon after endowed by Rev. John Harvard (who died soon after his arrival in the colony), with the gift of his library and half of his estate (£800). Thereupon, the school was erected into a college, received the name of its benefactor, and was placed under the supervision of a board of overseers composed of magistrates and ministers from six neighboring churches. In fixing upon a location for this institution Salem was passed by, on account of some Antinomian tendencies which had appeared there, and Newtown, subsequently called Cambridge, was chosen. The piety ‡ of the students was diligently cared for as

* Mather, II, pp. 192, 207, 238, 279, 289.

† See historical sketch of the First Church in Cambridge, Mass., in the *Congregational Quarterly*, July, 1873, pp. 384–394. Also Hildreth's *History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 263.

‡ An old book (*New England's First Fruits*, in respect to the progress of learning in the college at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay. London, 1643), gives the following among other rules of the college at this time:

"2. Let every student be plainly instructed and earnestly pressed to consider well, that the maine end of his life and studies is to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life (John 17. 3), and, therefore, to lay Christ in the bottom, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and learning."

of primary importance, while they were seeking intellectual culture. During the first one hundred years of its existence a little more than three sevenths* of its graduates became ministers of the Gospel.

One who lived sufficiently near the early colonial period to be familiar with those times has said: "Although the generality, both of the first leaders, heads of families, and freemen, were persons of noted piety; yet there were great numbers, not only of the younger sort, both children and servants, but also of every age, both in the year 1630 and in the ten following years, that came here only under the common impressions of a pious ministry, or education, or the religious influence of their friends, or the heads of families they belonged to; and who were, therefore, fit materials for the numerous conversions which quickly followed under the lively, searching and awakening preaching of the primitive ministers."† "The Spirit from on high was poured upon them, and the wilderness became a fruitful field. In twenty-seven years from the first plantation there were forty-three churches in joint communion; and, in twenty-seven years more, there appeared more than fourscore churches; twelve or thirteen in Plymouth Colony, forty-seven in Massachusetts Colony and the Province of New Hampshire, nineteen in Connecticut, three on Long Island, and one at Martha's Vineyard."‡ The communicants in the New England churches in 1650, were reckoned at 7,750 §

The morals of this early period were of a high order. In 1641 Governor Winthrop made the following entry in his *Journal:* "A great training in Boston, two days. About 1,200 persons were exercised in most sorts of land service; yet it was observed that there was no man drunk (though there was plenty of wine and strong beer in the town), not an oath sworn, no quarrel, nor any hurt done." It is stated by an early annalist that servants and vagrants were the authors of most of the open crimes which were committed. A prominent minister in the province, in 1650, said to his congregation, "I have lived in the country seven years, and all that time I

"4. That they, eschewing all profanation of God's name, attributes and ordinances, and times of worship, do studie with all good conscience, carefully to retaine God and the law of his truth in their minds, else let them know that (notwithstanding their learning) God may give them up to strong delusions, and in the end to a reprobate mind. 2 Thess. 2. 11, 12; Rom. 1. 28."

* From 1642 to 1742, there were 1,421 graduates, of whom 611 became ministers.

† Rev. Thomas Prince, in a sermon before the General Assembly of the province, in May, 1730.

‡ *Christian History*, pp. 63, 64.

§ Emerson's *History of the First Church in Boston*, p. 81. In 1674 there were also 3,600 praying Indians. *American Quarterly Register*, Feb., 1832, p. 203.

have never heard one profane oath nor seen a man drunk." * The Sabbath was kept with extreme strictness. All men, even strangers temporarily stopping in a place, were required to attend public worship, or "to keep themselves quiet in their houses." † Some individuals who found the atmosphere too pure and religion too prominent returned in disgust to England and grossly slandered the colonists.

That there was an extreme and impracticable rigidity in the spirit of many of these early Puritan settlers cannot be denied. But this was a relic of the intolerance against which they had revolted and into which they were betrayed in their zeal for the truth. ‡

New York.

The trading stations which constituted the first occupancy of New York soon grew into permanent settlements, after the organization of the Dutch West India Company in 1621. While the chief motive was the acquisition of wealth, they very early adopted measures to have the Gospel preached, and churches were established. But the progress of religion in the Dutch colonies was slow, owing to the worldly spirit of the early settlers, the formal character of their piety, the agitations connected with the Indian hostilities, and the dependence of the churches for pastors upon the classis of Amsterdam, which, at so great a distance, could only imperfectly judge as to the character of the ministers best suited to the circumstances of the colony. And yet, with all these disadvantages, religious institutions were maintained, education was promoted, and morals, though not austere, were strict and wholesome.

Delaware.

In 1637 two ship-loads of Swedish Lutherans settled in *Delaware*. This settlement was in the interest of Protestant Christianity. Much desire was manifested for the evangelization of the Indians, and Luther's *Smaller Catechism* was published in their language. At the time Eliot was performing his truly apostolic work in behalf of the Indians in New England, Lutheran missionaries were engaged

* See preface to sermons published in Boston, in 1721, by Dr. Increase Mather.

† Winthrop's *Journal*, 1646.

‡ "If a body of men be deprived of their dearest rights for professing conscientious opinions, it is natural that they should attach more importance to those opinions than if they were allowed their free exercise. It not only makes them more sturdy champions of their belief, but it leads them into intolerance toward others." *Essays and Reviews*, by Edwin P. Whipple, New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1848. Vol. I, p. 204. Article, Neal's "History of the Puritans," *North American Review*, January, 1845.

in the same holy work in Delaware and Pennsylvania. The royal instructions to the governor of this colony especially enjoined that the true worship of God and a pure faith should be maintained.*

Section 2.—From 1662 to 1720.

This was a period of marked religious declension in all the colonies.

Virginia.

That it should be necessary in *Virginia* to enact a law requiring the clergy to preach constantly every Sabbath, and to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least twice each year, is, of itself, a significant fact. Passing down to the close of the first century of the colony, only a few more churches appear to have been established, and, though glebes and parishes had been provided, not more than one half of the congregations were supplied with ministers, the others being served by lay-readers. "As to the unworthy hireling clergy of the colony, there was no ecclesiastical discipline to correct or punish their irregularities and vices. The authority of a commissary† was a very insufficient substitute for the superintendence of a faithful bishop. The better part of the clergy and some of the laity long and earnestly petitioned for a faithful resident bishop, as the Bishop of London was, of necessity, only the nominal bishop. For about two hundred years did the Episcopal Church of Virginia try the experiment of a system whose constitution required such a head but was actually without it. No such officer was there to watch over the conduct and punish the vices of the clergy; none to administer the rite of confirmation, and thus admit the faithful to the Supper of the Lord."‡ Under such circumstances the religious tendency was inevitably downward, and the morals also correspondingly declined.

A passing tribute is due to the memory of Rev. James Blair, D.D., who contributed in his day more than any other individual in the southern colonies to the cause of learning and the diffusion of Christianity. A native of Scotland, where he also received his

* Article on the "Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States," in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1868, by Rev. J. A. Brown, D.D., Professor in Gettysburg Theological Seminary, pp. 437, 438.

†An officer of the bishop exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction in distant parts of his diocese.

‡ *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia.* Vol. I, p. 15. By Bishop Meade, Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857.

education, and was beneficed in the Episcopal Church, he quitted his preferments and went to England near the close of the reign of Charles II. The Bishop of London prevailed upon him to go as missionary to Virginia in 1685. Having studied the wants of the colony, and performed valuable service to the cause of religion, in 1689 he was appointed commissary; the first officer of this class ever appointed, and a position which he held, in intimate association with the Bishop of London, for fifty-three years. Dr. Blair has been described as "eminently a practical man," of "sincere piety, a clear mind, and indefatigable perseverance." To his labors may be directly attributed the founding of William and Mary College, in 1693, of which institution he was president forty-nine years. He died at the age of eighty-six, after a ministry of sixty-four years, and for fifty years he was a member of the king's council. He left four volumes of sermons, which were highly commended by Dr. Doddridge.*

Maryland.

There is no evidence of the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in *Maryland* until about 1675.† There were, doubtless, communicants of that Church in the province, but they were not numerous. In 1676 the moral and religious condition of the province was represented ‡ as most deplorable. In ten or twelve counties there were only three clergymen of the English Church. The Lord's day was generally profaned, religion was despised, and "all notorious vices were committed, so that it had become a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest-house of iniquity." In 1684 the number of the clergy had increased, but they were "remarkable for their laxity of morals and scandalous behavior, utterly inconsistent with the sacred office." § From 1678 to 1692 there was a series of movements indicating a revolution against the Roman Catholics. Protestantism was in the majority, ‖ and a spirit of deep unrest under Catholic administration rapidly increased until 1692, when the accession of William and Mary to the English throne afforded an opportunity to change the character of the government. The proprietary came to an end and the provincial form was adopted, bringing the province directly under the officers of the crown, and

* See Hawks's *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, pp. 74, 75.

† *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland.* By Rev. Francis L. Hawks. New York, 1839. Published by John S. Taylor.

‡ Letter from Rev. Mr. Yeo, of Patuxent, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Hawks, p. 48, 49.

§ Hawks, p. 54; also, *British Empire in America.* Vol. I, p. 333.

‖ Hawks, p. 53.

the Episcopal Church was formally established as the religion of the State. This was fully consummated in 1702, but the condition of morals was not improved. A letter from one of the clergy to the Bishop of London, in 1714, drew a dark picture of the moral and religious condition of the province.* In 1722 the number of parishes was thirty-eight, varying from nine to seventy miles in length, with eleven hundred Episcopal families and three thousand communicants. During this period a considerable number of Baptist, Quaker, and Presbyterian churches were founded in this province.

New York.

But little religious progress was made in the colony of *New York*. Local circumstances embarrassed the churches. The Dutch churches were still ecclesiastically dependent upon the mother church in Amsterdam. The colony fell into the hands of the English, and a new class of settlers came in, resulting in the establishment of the English Church in 1693, and general taxation for its support. This produced dissatisfaction and irritation.

Pennsylvania.

It was during this period that *Pennsylvania* was settled by the Quakers. Founded upon the principle of unlimited toleration, the colony became a favorite resort for people of all creeds, where they dwelt together in delightful tranquillity and harmony. No act of intolerance or of persecution ever disgraced this colony. Churches multiplied and spread into the interior, the Quakers and Presbyterians being the most numerous. The morality of the people was of a high order, and the spirituality of religion was genuine and unaffected.

To Rev. Francis Makemie belongs the honor of laying the foundation of the Presbyterian Church in this country. A man of indefatigable zeal, clear-sighted, sagacious, fearless, and inspired by a truly apostolic spirit, he was pre-eminently adapted to the work. But the circumstances of the times taxed his virtues and his strength to the utmost. A true "itinerant missionary, and in reality the bishop of a primitive diocese," † he was emphatically "in labors abundant." He extended his circuit from Long Island to Maryland, and visited New England, Old England, and Scotland in

* Hawks, p. 136.

† Gillett's *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* Vol. I, p. 5.

furtherance of his work, founding churches and obtaining ministers and funds. The obstacles which he everywhere encountered were spiritual coldness and formality. Presbyterianism in America had its origin during the dark and gloomy period preceding the great Edwardian and Whitefieldian revivals. In addition to the unfavorable local circumstances and tendencies in this country, it was a time of spiritual decay and heresy abroad. "The Presbyterian churches of Switzerland had extensively fallen away from the vital doctrines of the Gospel. The writings of Whiston, Clarke, and Hoadley, in England, followed by the debates and publications of dissenters at Salter's Hall, showed that in London all was not sound, even among those who bore the honored name of the Puritan ancestry. In Scotland, moreover, the seeds of unsound doctrine had been widely sown." * In receiving ministers, therefore, from the mother country at this time, the early Presbyterian churches in America were compelled to exercise the greatest care.

New England.

In *New England*, also, where, in the earlier period, such deep spirituality had prevailed, a sad and general decline of piety and morals was manifest. The year 1662 marks a transitional point in the churches of New England. The adoption of the celebrated half-way covenant † that year opened the door for worldliness, formality, and dangerous errors. In 1670 a decay in spirituality was very apparent. Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, spoke of "the temper, complexion, and countenance of the churches as being strangely altered," and "a cold, careless, dead frame of spirit" as having "grown steadily" upon them. In 1678 Increase Mather spoke of "conversions" as "rare." "The body of the rising generation is a poor, perishing, unconverted, and, except the Lord pour down his Spirit, an undone generation. Many are profane, drunkards, lascivious, scoffers at the power of godliness." In 1683 Rev. Samuel Torry, of Weymouth, said: "Oh, the many symptoms of death that are upon our religion!" "As converting work doth cease, so doth religion die away; though more insensibly, yet most irrevocably. How much is religion dying in the hearts of sincere Christians!" In 1702 Increase Mather said: "Look into our pulpits and see if there is such a glory there as there once was. Look into

* *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., Vol. I, p. 50.

† See chapter on the *Diverse Currents of Religious Sentiment*, and Section 5 of this chapter.

the civil State. Does Christ reign there as he once did? How many churches, how many towns there are in New England over which we may sigh and say, the glory is gone!" Dr. Trumbull represented the condition of things in Connecticut at that time as very similar. In 1705 there was a partial reformation in Eastern Massachusetts, and in the western part of the State there were occasional revivals. Under the ministry of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, at Northampton, in a period of sixty years there were five revivals —in 1679, 1683, 1696, 1712, and 1718. Notwithstanding these few revivals, in 1720 the moral and religious condition of New England had sadly declined from what it was eighty years before.

Several causes contributed to this general declension in religion, the most important of which were—the stormy political aspect of the times, being a period of frequent and violent changes in the mother country, for the most part, under the licentious and debauched court of Charles II., then of James II., and finally under the somewhat improved but constantly disturbed administration of William III., all of which very sensibly affected the English colonies; the emigration of new classes of inhabitants who, unlike the earliest settlers, were actuated by worldly motives, and were restive under religious restraints; in New England the celebrated "half-way covenant" which involved a vital change in the conditions of church membership, destroying the fundamental distinction of the Church as a separated and consecrated community, and the new currents of sentiment which were setting in from the Old World under the influence of the rising spirit of radical inquiry.

A corruption in manners had been working downward through English society from the reign of Charles II. The pages of Addison, Steele, Johnson, and Goldsmith afford ample evidence of the general prevalence of frivolity and profligacy. The example of the mother country was contagious, and the children of the Pilgrims, the Covenanters and the Cavaliers sadly deteriorated in style of character and life. A growing liberality in thought, and an increasing tendency to deistical philosophy, during the reigns of William III. and the Georges diverted men's minds from the old channels of opinion and threatened to undermine the long-cherished doctrines. The first results of these influences were felt in the American churches early in the last century. The religious enthusiasm of the fathers had passed away, and their devotion, self-sacrifice, and sanctity of life had subsided into staleness of thought and stagnancy of feeling in all the colonies.

Section 3.—From 1720 to 1745.

The Whole Field.

At the opening of this period, the Episcopal was the Established Church in Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Maryland, and New York, and it also commanded the special favor of the civil authorities in New Jersey. The Dutch Church also existed in New York and New Jersey, and the Quakers held extensive sway in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. The Presbyterians and the Baptists had established a few churches in all the Middle States. The Baptists had some churches in three of the New England States. The Roman Catholics existed only in Maryland, but even there they were deprived of the privilege of holding public religious services. There were a few Mennonites and other small bodies. The largest denomination of Christians was the Congregational, which had almost exclusive possession of New England. The total population of the colonies in 1700 was about 320,000, and in 1750 they had increased to about 1,320,000.* In 1733, Georgia, the last of the original thirteen United States, was settled under Governor Oglethorpe.

New England.

At this time several startling events in New England deeply impressed the people. In 1721 nearly six thousand cases of smallpox occurred in Boston and vicinity, of which one seventh proved fatal. In 1727 the greatest earthquake ever known in New England occurred, in the clear night of Oct. 29, while the moon was shining brightly. In 1735 a fatal throat epidemic raged. In New Hampshire, then consisting of only fifteen towns, one thousand persons fell victims to the terrible malady, of whom nine tenths were under twenty years of age. Temporary revivals of religion followed, but the communities soon relapsed into indifference.

The venerable Increase Mather died in 1723, and his distinguished son, Cotton Mather, in 1728. In 1727 Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, Massachusetts, the most influential public man in western New England, passed away. Three years before his death Cotton Mather presented a petition to the Legislature of Massachusetts, in the name of the general convention of ministers, praying that, in view of the great and visible decline of piety, a synod might be called to remedy the unhappy condition. No synod was called.

* See Seaman's *Progress of Nations*, p. 583. New York, 1852. Charles Scribner.

Jonathan Edwards and the Great Revival.

It was in the midst of such a religious condition that the memorable movement known as "the great awakening" occurred. It was a series of far-reaching revivals, with Edwards as the prime mover, supplemented by Whitefield, each acting independently of the other—Edwards in New England and Whitefield throughout the colonies.

Edwards was confessedly a man of rare intellectual power, the ablest preacher of his time, who subsequently acquired the reputation of being the "most distinguished metaphysician from Leibnitz to Kant." He was acute in analysis and intense in thought. From early childhood he was deeply religious. Somewhat phlegmatic in temperament, trained up to a Puritanical primness, scrupulously precise in ministerial dignity, an absorbed student, solitary, and even ascetical in his habits, he was, nevertheless, a man of delicate sensibility, of fine esthetic taste, of rapt contemplation, and deep enthusiasm. Strong of will, of lofty temper, and large moral consciousness, he was earnest even in his most deliberate actions; and, however wanting in practical qualities and knowledge of men, he nevertheless possessed some very important qualifications for a religious reformer. His religious character was his most notable trait. His whole existence was a conscious longing after the Divine, springing from a profound conviction of the painful reality of sin and the glorious reality of redemption. A descendant from a London clergyman in the days of Elizabeth, a graduate and tutor of Yale College, most fortunately united in marriage to a woman * of the rarest qualities both of mind and heart, and called to the pastorate of one of the largest and most influential churches in New England, he began his ministry at Northampton in 1727 under circumstances exceedingly auspicious.

But the heart of Edwards could not rest in outward circumstances, however bright. He looked for spiritual life, but found it not. In his church the ripest and worst fruits of the "half-way covenant" were conspicuous. For about twenty years his distinguished predecessor had received unconverted persons to the communion and the Church, and had openly defended the practice in controversies with his ministerial brethren. A worldly spirit prevailed; the young people absented themselves from public worship and the restraints of family influence; licentiousness grossly abounded, and the Sabbath was turned into a day of amuse-

* Daughter of the Rev. James Pierpont, of New Haven, Connecticut.

ment. Edwards was deeply impressed with the prevailing laxity in morals, discipline, and doctrine. The virus was deeply seated, requiring radical treatment. He resolved to preach thoroughly upon the fundamental phases of doctrine involved in the situation. Influential friends endeavored to dissuade him, but he went forward, some finding fault and others ridiculing. He struck massive blows against the foundations of false hope, and set forth boldly the great principles of evangelical truth.

In the latter part of December, 1734, a new religious condition became apparent, attended by inquiry and conversions. After several months the deep interest in Northampton extended to South Hadley, Sunderland, Deerfield, Hatfield, West Springfield, Hadley, and Northfield, in Massachusetts, and to Suffield, Windsor, Coventry, Lebanon, Durham, Hartford, Stratford, Tolland, Bolton, Hebron, Preston, Groton, New London, and other towns in Connecticut. In Northampton alone three hundred persons professed conversion in about six months. The influence extended to the Presbyterian churches in New Jersey and some parts of Pennsylvania under the labors of the Tennents, and subsequently of Cross, Frelinghuysen, and others. The revival spirit prevailed through several years. Powerful revivals occurred in 1739 in Newark, New Jersey, and Harvard, Massachusetts, and in 1740 in New Londonderry, Pennsylvania, and New Brunswick, New Jersey. In many places where there was no visible movement there was a quiet quickening of religious interest, and an increased attention to religion in the inner and outward life. Nine years after this revival Edwards attested that "there had been a great and abiding alteration in the town," "more general seriousness and decency in attending public worship," "less vice than for sixty years before," and a more "charitable spirit toward the poor." Nor in Northampton alone were these permanent benefits. The good effects were widely visible after the excitement had passed away. The churches were stronger in numbers and piety. Public morals were improved; theology was more evangelical and the line of demarkation between the Church and the world more visible.

Considered as a work of grace, this great revival was attended by many marks of genuineness,* deep views of sin and unworthiness, clear convictions of the truths of the Gospel, firm persuasions of the fullness and sufficiency of Christ as a Saviour, exalted apprehensions of the majesty of God, profound self-abnegation, utter dependence

* See Edwards's Works. Vol. III, pp. 123, 140; also, *History of the Great Awakening.*

on the Holy Spirit, restitution for wrongs, reconciliation of enemies, and extraordinary self-dedication to God. That there were cases of self-delusion, extravagance, and excesses, was freely confessed and deeply mourned by Edwards and his co-workers, who faithfully analyzed and exposed them. These things were made occasions for gainsaying and opposition, but great and lasting good was nevertheless accomplished.

Whitefield.

The revival under Edwards had nearly spent its force when Whitefield appeared and gave it a new impulse. He landed in Philadelphia in November, 1739, warm in the fresh glow of a new religious experience, and flushed with his successes upon the plains of Moorfields. From a fiery ordeal of agonizing self-conflicts, and the deep melancholy of ascetic follies, his struggling spirit had emerged into the liberty of spiritual adoption, and longed to proclaim its transports to the world. With a heart of great capacity and simplicity, with oratorical powers unexcelled in effectiveness, and imbued with rich spiritual influences, he was eminently fitted to be an evangelist. Inwardly moved with the conviction of a divinely appointed mission, and overflowing with sympathy, he began his labors in Philadelphia. The whole city was powerfully stirred, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and Churchmen, all flocking to hear him. From Philadelphia he went to New York, then to Philadelphia again, then to Chester, Pa., then to Delaware, then to Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga., then to Philadelphia and New York, then to Savannah, and thence to New England, moving like the angel in the apocalyptic vision, his progress every-where a spiritual triumph. He reached Newport, R. I., Sept. 14, 1740. Reputation ran before him as a herald, producing a popular contagion and drawing multitudes to hear him. He preached incessantly, often sixteen times a week. High and low persons, clergymen, civilians, college professors and students, were alike swayed by his matchless eloquence. The hearts of tens of thousands from Maine to Georgia were stirred, and many professed conversion. He returned to England, but revisited America many times, traversing the length of the land and proclaiming the Gospel message with unparalleled power and success. At last he died, in 1770, at Newburyport, Mass., saying, almost with his latest breath, "Lord Jesus, I am weary in thy work, but not of thy work." It was Whitefield's mission to revive in the churches faith in Pentecostal power and results. What a sublime example of the consecration of the highest oratory to the work of saving souls!

A considerable revival interest followed Whitefield's labors in Boston. A deep seriousness and an increased attendance upon Sabbath worship were for some time manifest. Rev. Wm. Tennent, of New Jersey, came and preached searchingly and powerfully for several months, with good results. "The very face of the town," it was said, "seems altered." The revival spread as far as Portsmouth, N. H., Plymouth and Enfield, Mass., and Westerly, R. I. Tennent was followed by Rev. James Davenport, of New Jersey, under whose more erratic labors, guided by visionary impressions, a reaction set in.

The Edwardian and Whitefieldian revivals continued, with varying degrees of interest and success, from 1734 to 1745, and in some localities to 1750, but they were chiefly confined to the Congregational churches in New England and the Presbyterian churches in the Middle States.*

"The Log College" Work in the Middle States.

The Presbyterian churches in the Middle States had sunken low in apathy and formalism, and the unsound doctrinal tendencies which had paralyzed many of the Presbyterian churches of Great Britain threatened to destroy those of the colonies. But Providence was raising up agencies to avert the threatened evils.

Rev. William Tennent, a native of Ireland and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, came to America in 1718, became a Presbyterian minister, and settled at Neshaminy, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. Here he founded what was long known as the famous "Log College," for training young men for the ministry. He had four sons, Gilbert, William, Jr., John and Charles, all eminent preachers. To this remarkable family, called "the right-hand men of Whitefield," and their intensely evangelical school, the first educational institution of the Presbyterians in America, is largely due the spiritual resuscitation and aggressive power of this denomination in the Middle States.

Rev. Samuel Finley, D.D., an Irishman by birth, entered the "Log College," became a wise, zealous, and useful minister, a coadjutor of the Tennents in the spiritual revolution which saved the Presbyterian Church, and in later life was President of Princeton College.

Rev. William Robinson—"one-eyed Robinson"—was another evangelist who studied at the "Log College." The son of a rich

* The Quaker, Reformed, and Baptist churches received some benefits.

Quaker, he became a zealous Presbyterian minister, laboring in neglected and scattered settlements in southern New Jersey, western Virginia, and North Carolina. Threatened by the civil authorities because an itinerant, but allowed to go on his way, he became a shining light in the dark southern borders. Dr. Alexander said of him that he was probably instrumental in the conversion of as many souls as any man who ever lived in this country.

There were "unconverted ministers" in many of the Presbyterian pulpits of that time, says Dr. Gillett,* and great religious apathy; and the position of the Tennents and their coadjutors, in regard to revivals and the spiritual qualifications of ministers, awakened bitter conflicts in the Synod, resulting in its division into the "Old" and the "New Side" in 1741. In the end the spiritual side triumphed, and the parties were reunited in 1758. Many other ministers were raised up at the "Log College." The occasional visits of Whitefield and these evangelical allies kept the revival work alive many years, greatly augmenting the communicants in the churches and trebling the ministers in seventeen years. Princeton College grew up out of this revival in 1746.

Results of Whitefield's Labors.

Whitefield caused great commotion and disturbances in the churches, and serious divisions and animosities followed. Bitter controversies were kindled which did not die with that generation. But the old question comes back, Was it Ahab or Elijah who troubled Israel? The judgment of history affirms that not only the Middle Colonies but also New England were benefited rather than injured by Whitefield's visits.

Whitefield often overrated both his audiences and his converts, but much of the fruit of his way-side sowing, never numbered on earth, may be seen in eternity. Dr. Coggswell† estimated the number added to the New England churches at 25,000; Trumbull‡ at 30,000 to 40,000; others as high as 50,000. The Congregational and Presbyterian churches shared largely. Many Separatist and Baptist churches were formed. Many ministers and church members were converted (twenty ministers, it was said, in the vicinity of Boston). The standard of the religious life was raised. Indian missions received a new impulse; Brainerd was thrust out on his missionary career; and from the same influence Dartmouth College had its inception, under Wheelock, in Lebanon, Conn.

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*Hist. Pres. Ch., vol. I, pp. 82, etc. † *Christian Philanthropist.* ‡ *History of Connecticut.*

Maryland and Virginia.

From 1725 onward, in Maryland the character of the clergy is said to have very much improved. Whitefield visited this State in 1740, but his labors were attended with little success. Baltimore was just beginning to be a place of some importance, and the Episcopalians were the first to erect a church there. The St. Paul's church was begun in 1732.* No Roman Catholic Church was built there until more than forty years later.

Virginia, too, as well as Maryland, received but little benefit from the great revival. Says Dr. Hawks,† "It is not calumny to say that religion was in a deplorably low state." Another writer,‡ whom he quotes, said: "There are and have been a few souls in various parts of the colony who are sincerely seeking the Lord, and groping after religion, in the communion of the Church of England." "In the year 1740 Mr. Whitefield visited Virginia and preached at the seat of government and other places, and it is not improbable that his ministrations tended to create an increased interest on religious subjects among some of the members of the Establishment. At any rate he obtained a ready and unprejudiced hearing because he was a clergyman of the Church of England, and a deeper sense of piety was exhibited among some of the Establishment soon after his visit." §

Section 4.—From 1745 to 1776.

This period was one of varying fortunes in the colonial churches. The influence of the great revivals which have been mentioned was felt in some localities for a considerable time, but it was a period of many distractions. The French and Indian war, continuing through nearly nine years (1754–1763), and the agitations preceding the war of the Revolution seriously militated against the religious life and morals of the people.

In eastern Massachusetts, where the Arian and Socinian defection was already extensively working, there were no revivals. In the western part of the State there were large churches, in Northampton, Stockbridge, Westfield, and Southampton. In Connecticut, notwithstanding several ecclesiastical difficulties, there were

* Griffith's *Annals*, p. 23.
† *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, by Dr. Hawks, p. 100.
‡ *State of Religion Among Dissenters in Virginia.* By Rev. Samuel Dalls, p. 10.
§ *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, by Dr. Hawks, p. 100.

quickenings in the churches in Canaan, Killingly, Lebanon, Bethlehem, Preston, Somers, etc. Rev. Drs. Bellamy, Backus, and Hart, of that State, were ministers eminent for piety and influence. In East Hampton, on Long Island, Rev. Samuel Buel, a man of extraordinary piety and talents, settled in 1746; and, in 1764, through his efforts, an extensive revival of religion spread on the island.

Among the Presbyterians in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania several eminent men were raised up.

Rev. Samuel Davies, D.D., the great pulpit orator and president of Princeton College, commenced his ministry in 1747; Rev. John Brainerd, the worthy brother of the great missionary to the Indians, in 1748; Rev. John Rodgers, D.D., as associate of Davies, and also a pastor in New York City, in 1749; Rev. Elihu Spencer, D.D., one of the strongest names that adorn the Presbyterian annals, in 1748; Rev. Naphtali Daggett, D.D., subsequently president of Yale College, in 1751; Rev. John Todd, who was called to bear the mantle of Davies on his departure for England, in 1751; Rev. Robert Smith, D.D., the honored theological instructor of many ministers of the Presbyterian Church, in 1751; and Rev. George Duffield, D.D., a man of marked abilities and pulpit power, pastor of a church in Philadelphia, in 1756. The Tennents, Drs. Blair, Finley, Sproat, and their co-laborers in evangelistic work, were yet alive, and the savor of their influence was extensively felt in the schools and in the churches.

In the Dutch Church Rev. Drs. Archibald Laidlie and John H. Livingston were eminent names, the patriarchs and fathers of the Church. Laidlie, a Scotchman by birth and a graduate at Edinburgh, commenced his labors in New York in 1764. This event marks a new era in the history of the Reformed Dutch Church. His evangelical and powerful ministry resulted in great spiritual blessings. His pastoral tact and success were remarkable. Crowds attended his ministry, and he was a successful winner of souls.* Livingston, a native of Poughkeepsie, a graduate of Yale and of the University of Utrecht, Holland, commenced his labors in New York in 1770. During his ministry he established a great reputation as an orator and a theologian. His pastorate in New York continued forty years. To him, more than any other man, is attributed the separate organization of the Reformed Dutch Church in this country.†

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* See *Historical Discourse*, 1856. By Dr. Thomas De Witt. *Life of Dr. Livingston*. By Dr. Gunn. *Sprague's Annals of American Pulpit*, Vol. IX.

† See *Life of Livingston*. By Dr. Gunn. *Sprague's Annals*. Vol. IX.

Baptists and Presbyterians in Virginia.

No noticeable event occurred during this period in Maryland; but Virginia was the scene of new movements. Until near the middle of this century, with the exception of a few Quakers and Independents who had occasionally appeared and were almost as promptly dismissed, Virginia had been exclusively occupied by Episcopalians. A few Baptists had entered the colony in 1714, and others from Maryland in 1743. But not many permanent Baptist churches were established until soon after 1750. The first Baptist Association was organized in 1766, and at the time of the Revolution about seventy* churches had been constituted, but they were located chiefly in the western part of the State. In the same sections the Presbyterian churches were established. "The Virginia Government encouraged emigration along its frontier settlements, where the hardy pioneers might serve as a defense against the incursions of the Indian tribes. There was no question now raised in regard to their faith and order. If they could carry a rifle, or plant along the western forest a line of protection against savage inroads, they were sufficiently orthodox. Their distance, moreover, from the settlements on the eastern shore prevented any umbrage being taken at a dissent which did not attract notice or give offense. Thus, in obscurity and neglect, Presbyterianism, in spite of Virginia laws, planted itself unmolested west of the Blue Ridge. Germans, Quakers, and Irish Presbyterians from Pennsylvania took possession of the county of Frederick."†

From 1719 to 1755, at various times, the people at "Potomoke," near Martinsburg, at Opekon, south of Winchester, at Wood's Gap, in Albemarle, at Timber Ridge, at the Triple Forks of the Shenandoah, at Staunton, and numerous other places, were supplied with preachers by the Synod of Philadelphia and the New York Presbytery. In 1755 the Hanover Presbytery was constituted, from which time the cause prospered more fully. That distinguished minister, Rev. Samuel Davies, D.D., was the most able and successful promoter of Presbyterianism in this region. The celebrated Patrick Henry was a frequent attendant upon his ministry. Great revivals attended his labors, and at the time of the Revolution the Presbyterian churches in western Virginia were quite numerous.

In the eastern part of Virginia the Episcopal churches were life-

*See List, by Rev. Rufus Babcock, D.D. in *American Quarterly Register*, Nov. 1840, pp. 182, 187.

†See *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., Philadelphia. *Presbyterian Publication Committee.* Vol. I, p. 106.

less. To say that the clergy were worldly and formal comes short of the truth. Many of them were not only irreligious, but also immoral. According to Jarratt,* "the Sabbath was usually spent in sporting." In the pulpits natural religion and essays on morality were substituted for the Gospel. "Tillotson's sermons," says Bishop Meade,† "abridged into moral essays and dry reasonings on the doctrines of religion, were, I fear, the general type of sermonizing among the clergy who came over to America for the seventy or eighty years before the war of the Revolotion." There were only a few exceptions. The most distinguished of these deserve a a more extended notice. Under their labors, in some portions of Virginia a new spiritual life was promoted.

Morgan Morgan,

an eminent Episcopal layman, a native of Wales, emigrated in early life to Pennsylvania. In the year 1726 he removed to the county of Berkeley in Virginia, and erected the first cabin between the Blue Ridge and the North Mountain. As a man of exemplary piety, and devoted to the Church, "he went about doing good," visiting the sick, and impressing upon all the value of personal religion, training his own family in the ways of piety, and died at the ripe age of seventy-eight years, full of faith and good works. In the absence of the clergy he often officiated as a lay-reader, visiting destitute localities, quickening the piety of the churches, cheering the desponding, extending his labors through the counties of Berkeley, Jefferson, and a part of Frederick, Hampshire, and a small portion of Maryland. He was every-where welcomed, beloved alike by the rich and the poor, and attracted attentive audiences. His character was his passport, and the fruit of his labors was long seen in the valley of Virginia. ‡ The second,

Devereux Jarratt,

was a clergyman of deep spiritual character and zeal. In 1763 this remarkable man became the pastor of Bath parish, in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, having received ordination in London the previous year. In his autobiography he presents many striking facts relative to the condition of religion in this State. He was an

* *Autobiography of Rev. Devereux Jarratt*, p. 28.

† *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia.* By Rev. Bishop Meade. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857. Vol. II, p. 355.

‡ Hawks's *History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia*, pp. 112, 113.

earnest and laborious minister, of very decided evangelical sentiments. In a time when the parish ministers preached little but "morality and smooth harangues, in no wise calculated to disturb the carnal repose of the people," he says, "My doctrine was strange and wonderful to them, and their language one to another was to this effect: 'We have had many ministers, and heard many before this man, but we never heard anything till now of conversion, the new birth,' etc. At this time I stood alone, not knowing one clergyman in Virginia like-minded with myself.'"

Bishop Meade says,* "It is to be feared that about this time, and for some years before, the clergy of Virginia were not only wanting in seriousness, but were immoral and ignorant." Complaint was made to the Bishop of London of the gross ignorance of four clergymen and the immorality of others.

Mr. Jarratt was a man of extraordinary character, and his ministry extended through a period of thirty-eight years. He devoted himself zealously to his work, and was both pastor and evangelist, not only in the three churches in his parish, but often in many adjacent towns. In his preaching he discarded the merely moral and sentimental homilies, then the staple instruction of the clergy, and enforced often "in a bold and alarming manner" the guilt of sin, the depravity of mankind, their danger, and portrayed in most inviting strains the way of salvation by faith in Christ. When the spirit of religious inquiry was awakened in his parish, he extended his labors through the week, by night and by day, often in private houses, holding meetings for prayer, singing, preaching and conversation. His churches were crowded to overflowing; his labors were sought for elsewhere, and extended through a circle of five or six hundred miles. Twenty-nine counties in Virginia and North Carolina were visited by this great Episcopalian evangelist, and for some years, as his journal shows, his sermons averaged five each week.

Says Bishop Meade, "He was, of course, very obnoxious to many of the clergy. One of them charged him with violating an old English canon by preaching in private houses. To this he replied that no clergyman refused to preach a funeral sermon in a private house for forty shillings, and he preached for nothing; moreover, that many of the brethren transgressed the 75th canon, which forbids cards, dice tables, etc., to the clergy, and yet were not punished. Some complained of his encouraging pious laymen to pray in his presence, which he answered by reminding them how

* *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia.* By Bishop Meade. Vol. I, p. 467.

often they permitted ungodly laymen to swear in their presence, without even a rebuke. Mr. Jarratt adduced in proof of the low state of religion the small number of communicants, none but a few of the more aged, perhaps seven or eight, attending. The rest thought nothing about it, or else considered it a dangerous thing to meddle with. The first time he administered it there was only that number. About ten years after he entered the ministry there were at his three churches, including a number who came from other parishes, about nine hundred or one thousand, although he endeavored to guard the table closely against unworthy receivers. For many years this happy state of things continued, but after a time a melancholy change appeared." * The Revolutionary war and French infidelity swept over the State.

Returning to New England, we notice:

Section 5.—The Fruits of the Half-way Covenant.

The introduction of the half-way covenant into the New England churches, and the subsequent action of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, have been sketched in these pages. A few things need to be stated as to its actual workings and its later history. The two systems (that of the Synod of 1662 and that of Stoddard), during the last century, ran largely together. This fact should be considered in order to a proper understanding of the current events. As is often the case, some parts of the systems were not fully observed, and there was much laxity, an inherent tendency in the nature of the case. Says Dr. Buddington,† "Had the theory of the covenant been carried out, it might have been a source of all the good anticipated, but probably it was the vice of the system that it could not be carried out faithfully. It was looked upon by many as a form devised to procure a respectable standing in the community, and it was practiced as a form, with no intent to discharge its duties or submit to the discipline it implied. In this way it happened that the discipline of the churches was neglected; indeed, so numerous had the children of the covenant become, that it became well-nigh impossible to exercise a faithful discipline, inasmuch as almost the whole community were members of the Church by baptism."

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* *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia.* By Bishop Meade. Vol. I, pp. 471, 472.

† *History of the First Church in Charlestown, Massachusetts*, p. 127.

The South Church, Hartford, Connecticut, as already stated, came into being out of the controversy which arose over the subject of baptism in the first Church in that city. It was organized in 1670, under a protest against the half-way covenant, though it subsequently fell into the same practice. At its two hundredth anniversary Dr. Leonard Bacon said: "In the days of the half-way covenant, whatever else was neglected, the baptism of children was well attended to. Looking into the records of an old church in Fairfield County, Connecticut, not very long ago, I saw something to this effect: the minister, in his old age, recorded this regret, that he had not kept an accurate registry of baptisms, and therefore supplied that deficiency by certifying, once for all, that according to his best knowledge and belief, every body* then living in the parish was baptized, except a few Indians in a remote corner."

We are credibly informed that those who were baptized were urged and accustomed to come to the communion. We thus gain some conception of the condition of things in the churches of the last century. The churches were generally walking in this way.

Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D., says:†

This one historical fact is so comprehensive that it includes many others. In the light of it we can easily understand why the churches of Massachusetts were in a very unhealthy condition one hundred years ago.

They had not, it is true, lost all their power as churches of Christ, but they were greatly shorn of their strength. From 1745 on to the close of the century there was a woeful absence of those special breathings of the Holy Spirit which we call revivals of religion. The churches were built up as to numbers, but largely with earthly materials, and the standard of Christian conduct came to be very low.

We talk of the good old times, but all through the last century there were strifes and contentions in many of the churches, such as were far below the Christian standard of the present day.

We refer to these things not to dishonor our fathers, but rather to honor the Gospel of Jesus Christ in its power to overcome evil and make the world better from generation to generation.

. . . . . .

When Rev. Peter Thacher was ordained in Boston over the New North, in 1723, there were disorders such as would not be endurable in our times. The vote that called him was not unanimous, though nearly so, but the few dissentients were so stout and hateful in their opposition that they actually undertook to interrupt and stop the public services on ordination day, and in doing this were guilty of most mean and dastardly acts. Not prevailing, however, to stop the ordination, one man afterward nailed up his pew door, and it remained in this condition for years, until some young men sawed it out one night and fixed it as a kind of sign on his shop.

* The baptisms in the old church in Windham, Connecticut, from 1700 to 1800 were 2,389. Almost every person was a church member, and all had their children baptized.

† *Historical Survey of the Churches*, 1776–1886.

The type of religious experience, even in the most religious, was very somber, dull and gloomy—little of the cheerful, hopeful, happy piety of more recent times. The most experienced Christians were sadly in bondage to fear. When talking of spiritual things it was common for them to remark—"O, if I only knew I had a spark of grace I should be so happy." Some of the churches voted that no person should be required to make a relation of his religious experience when admitted to the Church, and in some, "no assent to the covenant" was required.

Outwardly the people, especially in New England, were more religious one hundred years ago than now. They all supported religious institutions, taxing themselves for that purpose. The mass of the population was more generally found in the sanctuary on the Sabbath than now, but aside from the Sabbath services there were few religious meetings. Even if they had been disposed to gather for extra services, their scattered condition, poor roads, scarcity of bridges, etc., would have been hinderances. They thought more of being members of the Church and having their children baptized than now; but the reasons for these things were semi-political, and church attendance was not voluntary, but enforced under heavy penalties. In respect to the formalities of religion, that age was in marked contrast with the present. People were more reverent of God, of His Church, of the Bible, of ministers and magistrates, and more solemn and devout in worship. Devout, solemn airs, whining tones, and long faces commanded a high premium. But there were less than ten years of good average spirituality in the whole century.

The effect of the half-way covenant upon the theology of the Churches will be developed in the chapter on *Diverse Currents*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AMONG PROTESTANTS.

SEC. 1. The Ministry.
" 2. The "The Meeting-Houses."
" 3. Public Worship.
SEC. 4. The Catechism.
" 5. Thanksgiving and Fast Days.

Section 1.—The Ministry.

THE parish minister was a conspicuous personage in the colonial times. In the very earliest years of the settlement of New England each of the larger churches had two ministers, one of whom was the "teacher" and the other the pastor; but this custom did not long continue. The minister was known by his dress. His powdered wig was surmounted with a three-cornered clerical hat, usually of beaver. A ministerial coat, single-breasted, with an ample curve on each side, and a vest of enormous length, with large pockets and lappets, covered his body. He wore short pants, met at the knees by long, smooth silk or worsted stockings, and soft calf or deer-skin shoes, fastened together by shining silver buckles. He was a grave man, of imperturbable dignity, and of great importance in all the town, and "his person was sometimes made a bug-bear to frighten refractory children into obedience." So greatly was he revered that the people usually took off their hats and bowed to him as he passed. It has been jocosely said that men passing the parsonage with teams always put the best wheel on the end of the axle nearest the parson's house.

In New England the minister was "the parson," which meant *the person*, in the parish—a much more important personage than now. He was consulted concerning the enactment of laws and questions of civil administration. To speak against him or his preaching was punished by fine, whipping, banishment, or cutting off ears. Every person was obliged to contribute for his support, usually, however, by tax; all were required to hear him preach on the Sabbath, Fast and Thanksgiving days, or pay a fine of five shillings for every absence; and all were expected to keep awake dur-

ing the sermon. Marriages were, however, performed by magistrates, and, in the earlier period, the dead were buried without prayer, lest that should bring in papal customs. At this early time the term Reverend was not applied to the parson, but on portraits and pamphlets the name was followed by V. D. M. (*Verbi Dei* Minister). Among the Dutch in New York he was called the "Dominie."

The salary of the minister at Danvers, Mass., in 1713, was £60 a year and 15 cords of wood while single, and £75 when married. In Schenectady, in 1700, the allowance was £100 New York currency (about $250), house and garden rent free, pasturage for two cows and a horse, 60 cords of wood delivered at the parsonage, and traveling expenses from Holland.* Generally the salary was paid in money, but often, in part, in country produce. The Plymouth Legislature decreed that a portion of any whales "in God's providence" cast upon the shore should be set apart for "the encouragement of an able, godly minister among them."

Much is said of the narrow-mindedness and sectarianism of the ministers of that period, but we should not forget that all through the colonial era there was progress, and the minister of 1750–1775 was far in advance of those of 1630–1660 in respect to toleration and breadth of ideas. There was a constant general advance, far-sighted men leading the van and obtuse ones following far behind. As a whole, the ministers of those times were the leaders in public sentiment. There were no lyceum lectures, concerts, plays or amusements, outside of a very few large towns, and the sermons were the events of the week. In New England the sermons were often strongly tinged with philosophy, and varied with discussions of obscure points in science and metaphysics, which afforded new topics for conversation among the people. Crude as some of those discussions now seem, they were then the skirmish lines beyond which the intellect of this age has passed, only to be superseded by the generations to follow us. Such is the progress of ideas. The minister's influence was felt in every hamlet, but the lawyers and the physicians owed more to the parson than any other class of persons. The long sermons, often dealing in abstruse metaphysical questions, afforded the professional and educated men intellectual occupation and amusement. The pulpit served for the stage and the circulating library, and the sermons heard on Sunday were thought over and discussed during the week.

* In 1784 it was advanced to £140 ($350), in 1796, £200.

The Influence of the Minister.

Five reasons have been given why ministers had so great influence in the colonial times. 1. Religion, in the earlier period, at least, was regarded by the people as a very serious business, the subject on which their lives and destinies turned, and the parish minister was both the Moses and the Aaron of their hopes. 2. He was really an important officer in the theocracy, the ecclesiastical order being the power behind magistrates and courts. 3. The superior learning of the clergy, they being the learned men of the settlements. 4. The simplicity of colonial life afforded them rare opportunities for personal influence. The complexity and expansion of society, with its great interests developing able men in their departments, now every-where surrounding us, was then unknown. The parson was a natural center of influence, as he cannot be now. He was often the physician and surgeon, and the more advanced schools were under his roof, where young men fitted for college and the ministry. There were few college graduates outside of the ministry in the first century of our colonial history, and few lawyers, educators, editors and financiers. Managers of manufactories, railroads, etc., etc., were unknown. And there were no newspapers.

5. The length of the pastorates was also favorable to the growth of influence.

Long Pastorates.

In 1782 Rev. Timothy Walker died at Concord, N. H., after a settlement of fifty-two years as pastor of that church. Among his contemporaries in that State were thirteen ministers * all of whom had long pastorates; namely:

	Years.		Years.
Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, of Chester...	60	Rev. Jeremy Fogg, of Kensington..	52
" John Wilson (Presbyterian), of Chester.....	45	" William Davidson, of Londonderry.....	51
" John Odlin, of Exeter.....	48	" Joseph Adams, of Neurington.	68
" William Allen, of Greenland.	53	" John Moody, of Newmarket..	48
" Samuel McClintock, of Greenland..,.....	47	" Samuel Parsons, of Rye.....	48
" John Tuke, of Gosport.....	41	" Jonathan Cushing, of Dover...	52
		" James Pike, of Somersworth..	60

Ministers were settled for life. Of 271 pastors in Massachusetts in 1776, 223 retained their pastorates until death; and only 48 were terminated by dismission or resignation. One had a ministry in the

* *Congregational Quarterly*, July, 1873, pp. 362, 363.

same parish over 70 years; 21, between 60 and 70 years; 51, between 50 and 60 years; 66, between 40 and 50 years; 62, between 30 and 40 years; 24, between 20 and 30 years; 32, between 10 and 20 years; 14, under 10 years.

A small farm was attached to the parsonage in most towns, and the parson was often a skillful farmer. Sometimes he became very worldly and secular, neglecting study, and his sermons became stale. An eminent New England divine, himself a son of a Puritan clergyman, used to relate that, when a boy, he heard the deacons in his father's house discussing the merits of their respective ministers. After many had spoken an old deacon said: "Wa'al, our minister gives so much attention to his farm and orchard that we get pretty poor sermons, but he is mighty movin' in prayer in caterpillar and cankerworm time."

Section 2.—The Meeting-Houses.

When the legions of Rome attempted to conquer the Anglo-Saxons they found the tribes bound together by a league they had nowhere else encountered—the league of the *tuns*. Each village was a *tun*, independent, managing its own affairs, each householder having the right of suffrage on all questions affecting the welfare of the *tun*. Every village had its *moot*, or meeting-house, where the inhabitants met to discuss all questions in *tun* meeting. Each *tun* managed its own affairs, and each united with its neighboring *tun* to repulse invaders. Rome could not conquer this people. The term *moot* (*moot*-question, *moot*-court, etc.), signifying debate, gave character to the buildings used for *mooting*, and the *mooting*-house in the course of time was called a *meeting*-house. The first settlers at Plymouth Rock were a *tun*, the beginning of a State—a Republic. In the wilderness they reared their *moot*—the *meeting*-house—where on Sundays religious questions were *mooted*, and where, on other days, they mooted the affairs of the *tun*, elected *tun* officers, etc., every voter *mooting* his opinions upon all subjects relating to the *tun*, money for roads, schools, bounties on foxes and wolves, down to the question of putting yokes upon geese and wires in the snouts of swine. The meeting-house was the legislative house of the miniature commonwealth, as well as a sanctuary where spiritual and eternal things were considered. The town meetings held in New England meeting-houses have become potent factors in the nation. In the meeting-houses troops were raised to fight the Pequots. From the

pulpits patriotic fires were fanned that flamed into the Revolution, and from the meeting-houses the troops went forth to fight.

Outside of New England, on some of the frontiers, meeting-houses were not so promptly reared, and Sabbaths and general morals ran low. But in New England, it may be said, in the beginning was the meeting-house. The edifice belonged to the town, in its parochial character, and the town meetings were opened with solemn religious services. All parish business was transacted in many New England towns at the regular town meeting. Even the most trivial matters, such as the appointment of a chorister, the purchase of supplies for the ordination dinner, arrangements for the ordination ball, which sometimes occurred, etc., were decided in this popular assembly. The records of one town meeting show a vote authorizing a committee "to purchase a pitch-pipe for the use of the chorister." For many years this was the only instrument used in singing in New England. "A barrel of rum to raise the meeting-house" was another town charge.

The meeting-house always belonged to the town, in its parochial character; but at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century these arrangements were gradually modified until, by the adoption of the amended "Bill of Rights" in Massachusetts, in 1834, towns were discharged from all care of the Gospel and all connection with its institutions and agencies. In most other States this change came sooner.

Rude Edifices.

As to the character of the edifices, the very earliest belonged to the nondescript style of architecture—four walls of logs, with crevices stuffed with clay, no ceiling but the rough wood, often unhewed, and a thatched roof. Such were the first houses of worship in Virginia, New York and New England. They could do no better. In a little while the log church gave place to a square framed house, with a "tunnel" roof, the latter style of roof prevailing chiefly among the Dutch. In these buildings town business, courts, and many local contentions were held and criminals sentenced; and stocks and whipping-posts were conveniently near. In the southern colonies the early churches were without spires for a hundred years or more, and were often located in retired places.

In the days of Indian hostilities the sanctuary was loop-holed and surrounded with a palisade built of tall stakes as a protection against attacks. This building also stored the powder and served as a fort. A certain number of men were detailed to go every Sun-

day to the place of worship, with arms and ammunition, ready to repel an assault.

Advance in Church Architecture.

Only a little time, however, elapsed before the house of worship became a more worthy edifice. An old church, erected in eastern Massachusetts in 1713, was 28 by 42 feet, three stories high, covered with plank one and a half inches thick, and clap-boarded. It was voted "to leave the inside to be plastered when ye precinct are able." There were no carpets, cushions, or pews, only hard oaken seats; the men sitting on one side and the women on the other until pews were introduced. Heavy beams crossed overhead, bare and unsightly, and when the building was crowded "some of ye sprightly lads sat on ye beams over ye heads of ye congregation." Dignitaries of the State sat "on ye high seat by ye pulpit." It was long before the family or square pew was adopted.

Most of the church buildings standing in the older towns in 1800 were built from 1730 to 1770, the third of the series built since the first settlements. In the newer towns they were the second. Many of them were the best buildings of the period, the largest, most expensive and best cared for, requiring sacrifices from the people that would now be considered intolerable. They were painted white externally. An unpainted meeting-house, or one without a steeple and a bell, was an exception to the general rule. Sometimes, even in this more advanced period; the building of the steeple was deferred for lack of means, the modern expedient of a church mortgage not having been adopted; but the glory of the sanctuary was deemed wanting until a lofty spire pointed heavenward and the welcoming notes of a bell reverberated to the remotest corner of the town. It was then an imposing structure, located in the center, where the paths and lanes of the settlement converged, and often, in New England, on a high hill, where the first houses were built. The square house gradually gave place to an oblong structure of two stories and a gallery. Sometimes it was plastered only below the galleries, the portions above being left unfinished to the roof. Kegs of powder often stood on the great oak cross-beams for safe keeping, there never being any fire in the house. No curtains softened the light nor cushions the hard seats, except in the pulpit.

No flue or chimney appeared in church architecture until near the close of the last or early in this century. Men warmed their hands by keeping them in their stout coat pockets, and knocked their feet

together with not a little noise. Judge Sewall, of Boston, wrote (Diary, Jan. 24, 1685): "This day was so cold that the Sacramental Bread was frozen pretty hard and rattled sadly on the plates." The women brought small foot-stoves,* replenished with charcoal, which sometimes occasioned fainting, though generally the cold and the fumes of gas were borne without complaint. The first stoves were mounted on high platforms, sometimes nearly as high as the gallery, until the philosophers discovered that heat rises.

A peculiarity of the early times were the "Sabba'-Day Houses;" buildings erected near the church, about sixteen feet square, with small windows on three sides, a chimney built of stone or perhaps partly of brick, with a large fire-place. This room was furnished with rough seats. In this place the women passed the short intermission in mutual greetings, inquiries after health, commenting on the morning sermon, gossiping, etc., while the men lingered around the horse-sheds, or the bar-room of the tavern.

The pulpit was lofty, reached by a flight of stairs; so high that those who kept their eyes fixed upon the preacher did so at the peril of a stiff neck. Behind was a curtainless window, and above a curiously gilded canopy about six feet in diameter, in form resembling a flat turnip cut transversely. It was called a sounding-board and hung just above the speaker's head by a slender iron rod from the ceiling. Just beneath, in front of the pulpit, were the deacons' seats, in a sort of pen, where they sat on communion days, facing the congregation, with the communion table hanging by hinges in front of them. When pews were introduced they were constructed about six feet square, with high perpendicular walls, and a railing on the top. Within were uncushioned seats on two sides, and sometimes two or three plain chairs. The seats were hung by hinges, so that they might be turned up when the congregation rose, as it was the universal custom to stand in prayer time; and "the slam-bang as they were turned carelessly down again at the close of prayers, not unlike a volley of musketry, was no inconsiderable episode in the ceremonies."

Before bells were introduced a flag was raised and drums were used to call the people to worship. A good deacon, as was some-

* From time immemorial only aged women and feeble persons were allowed to carry foot-stoves, which were replenished with coals at noon from the "Sabba'-Day House" or a neighbor's. In a town-meeting debate on the question of introducing a stove into the church in Brimfield, Mass., one speaker said: "We do not need a stove in this house to warm it, the preaching is hot enough for that purpose." When a stove was introduced into a certain meeting-house a leading man fancied the air so uncomfortable that he walked out of the house in a rage, when a by-stander examined the stove and found that no fire had yet been kindled in it.

times the case, with cocked hat and small clothes, solemnly beat the drum from hill to hill on Sabbath morning. The people came forth from their brown houses and wended their way to the meeting-house. A story is told of a faithful deacon who rode the same white horse to church for twenty years without missing a Sabbath; but at length, taken sick, the deacon was kept at home. The venerable steed, however, without saddle or bridle, joined the worshipers as usual at the sound of the drum, went to the church, lingered till the services were over and then trotted home again. When carriages were first introduced those who used them were subjected to serious criticism, as extravagant and proud.

The Congregations.

"Behold now the congregation as it assembles on the Sabbath. Some of them are mounted on horses, the father with his wife or daughter on a pillion behind him, and perhaps also his little boy astride before him. They ride up to the stone horse-block and dismount. The young men and maidens, when not provided with horses, approach on foot. They have worn their every-day shoes until just before coming in sight, and have exchanged them for their clean calfskins or morocco, having deposited the old ones in some unsuspected patch of brakes or some sly hole in the wall. They carry in hand a rose, a lilac, a pink, a peony or a pond-lily (for this was the whole catalogue of flowers then known in the country towns), or, what was still more exquisite, a nice bunch of caraway seeds. Instead of this in winter they bear a tin foot-stove containing a little dish of coals, which they have carefully brought from home or filled at some neighboring house; and this was all the warmth they were to enjoy during the two long hours of the service. In winter they come a long distance on ox-sleds, or perhaps skim over the deep untrodden snow on snow-shoes. They enter the house stamping the snow from their feet and tramping over the uncarpeted aisles with their cow-hide boots.

"Let us enter with them. The wintry blast howls around and shrieks among the loose clap-boards; the half-fastened windows clatter; and the walls re-echo to the thumping of thick boots as their wearers endeavor to keep up the circulation in their half frozen feet, while clouds of vapor issue from their mouths; and the man of God, as he raises his hands in his long prayers, must needs protect them with shaggy mittens. So comfortless and cold—it makes one shudder to think of it. In summer, on the contrary, the sun

blazes in, unscreened by window curtains; the sturdy farmer, accustomed to labor all day in his shirt-sleeves, takes the liberty to lay aside his coat in like manner for the more serious employments of the sanctuary." *

Section 3.—The Worship.

It is winter; nevertheless the people are gathered, many of them from distant homes, in a cheerless sanctuary. Upon rough boards arranged on rude blocks sit the fathers of the church, in stout woolen frocks with snow-shoes near by and fur caps hung upon the muzzle of guns leaning against their shoulders. The pastor, too, has hung his three-cornered hat upon his own trusty musket, which stands by the side of the pulpit.

The forenoon service begins at ten o'clock. A solemn tune is sung in nasal strains. The congregation rise and stand during the pastor's prayer, which is never less than fifteen minutes long, often twice or thrice as long.† Then a psalm is "lined off" by "the ruling elder," and sung by the congregation in "a most solemne tune." The sermon follows, never less than an hour in length, sometimes extending to an hour and a half and two hours, so that "the hour-glass" on the preacher's desk is turned twice. "The Improvement" is often as long as the argument. It advances by regular stages to eighthly and even to sixteenthly. The elderly men, unaccustomed to long sittings, occasionally stand up, stretching over the breastwork of the pew or gallery to relieve the fatigue of their position. It was the duty of the tithing-man to keep the people awake,‡ striking the boys with a knob at one end of his pole, and tickling

* From the history of an old New Hampshire town.

† Sometimes a pause was made at a certain stage of "the long prayer" to accommodate those who chose to sit down.

‡ In a satire, one of the preachers of that time is pictorially represented as saying to his audience, "I know you are good fellows, stay and take another glass." Another minister who stood in a pulpit on the side of the church next to the cemetery, seeing many asleep, sarcastically remarked that those behind him could hear as well as those before him.

"In one town in eastern Masssachusetts it was voted 'that the three hindmost seats in the meeting-house be left for the boys that are under twelve years old, and three seats above in the men's gallery be left for older boys to sit in, and that the select men see to the getting of two men to look after the boys, that they be made to sit in the seats appointed for them and they be kept from playing.' If any of the boys above twelve years old should play on the Sabbath day in the time of public worship they were to be 'brought below and compelled to sit with the smaller boys, until they leave off playing on the Sabbath.' It was also voted that the same course be taken with the girls. Two misses in one case were fined for laughing in meeting, and for speaking deridingly of God's Word and ordinances men were sentenced to pay five pounds or be whipped." . . .

the ears of the girls with a feather at the other end.* After the sermon another psalm is read. "Tate and Brady" is lined off and sung with a strong nasal twang and hearty good will to some good old St. Ann's or St. Martin's, and finally the benediction is pronounced. The congregation still remain in place, to go out in prescribed order: first, the minister; then, the deacons; then, those in the front seats below; and at the same time, those in the front gallery seats and those in the pews, etc., etc.

The Intermission.

They separate for a short intermission, and to dispatch their lunch † of doughnuts or apples; in summer they stroll in the graveyard hard by, to hold silent converse with those who sleep there and be impressed with the lesson of their own mortality. In winter those from a distance take refuge before the blazing hearth of some friend in the village, and are, perhaps, regaled with a hospitable mug of cider or something stronger; and after an hour's intermission all re-assemble for the afternoon service, which is much like that of the morning. Some ministers, however, in the morning usually preached a doctrinal sermon, and in the afternoon drew inferences and practical lessons. This logical, connected style of preaching trained the minds of their hearers to habits of consecutive thought.

Sanctuary Items.

There were some incidental items in the religious services of those times which have been well described by a writer ‡ in *The*

* An old document speaks of a disturbance in an old church at Danvers, Mass., in 1713: "There was a disturbance in ye gallerie when it was filled with divers negroes, mullattoes and Indians. And a negro called Pomp Shester, belonging to Mr. Gardner, was called forth and put in ye Broad Aisle, when he was reproved with great awfulness and solemnity; he was then put in ye deacon's seat, between two deacons, in view of ye whole congregation, but ye Sexton was ordered by Mr. Prescott to take him out because of his levity and strange contortions of countenance giving great scandal to ye grave deacons, and put him in the lobby under ye stairs. Some children and a mulatto woman were reprimanded for laughing at Pomp Shester."

† "It was not an uncommon thing in those days for people to bring their dinners to meeting. In a certain instance a pitcher of milk was set on the pulpit stairs by the occupant of a pew near by. During the long prayer a dog found his way into the meeting-house, and in wandering about in the aisles espied the pitcher. Putting his nose into it he kept on lapping till his head had forced itself so far into the vessel that it was impossible to shake it off. To see the dog working vehemently to get the pitcher from his head, as he ran up and down the aisle, was too much for the risibles of the congregation, even in the time of prayer. The minister, opening his eyes, caught sight of the dog and was himself overcome by the ludicrousness of the scene. The congregation were too much demoralized to resume worship for that occasion, and it was found practicable to adjourn till afternoon."

‡ To this writer the author is indebted for some of the previous items, as well as some which follow.

Congregationalist. Before "the long prayer" a string of notes was read. "A—— H—— asks prayers for herself, sick and weak;" "B—— S—— requests prayers for him, sick and low, that he may be restored to health or prepared for God's will concerning him." "That T—— S——'s death may be sanctified to wife, parents, children, brothers and sisters." Then a note of "thanks for mercies received" by the parents of a new-born child, which occasions some sheep's eye glances in the congregation. Last comes one which stirs every heart. "Prayers are desired for Thomas Cobbett, son of Rev. Thomas Cobbett, of Ipswich, who has been taken captive by the Tarantine savages, that the Lord who preserved the life of Joseph and delivered him out of prison may be with our friend and brother, to preserve his life and health, and restore him to his distressed and sorrowing family." The long prayer that followed presented every case separately before the Lord.

In the afternoon, "during the opening prayer," the "mercies received" for which thanks were offered in the morning, in a little red bundle of wrappings and adornments from over the sea, is brought by its pleased but timid father, half way up the pulpit stairs to the font, at the end of the railing in front of the deacons. The descending pastor takes the infant tenderly, sprinkles her tiny forehead, pronounces her significant name, "Welcome," and after the rite returns to the pulpit and goes on in his suspended prayer—"Now, O Lord, be pleased to ratify in thy courts above what has been done in thy courts below, and grant in thy great mercy that the name of this dear child may be written in thy Book of Life." Then follows singing and the sermon.

The sands of the glass at the left end of the deacon's railing run their hour and the sermon closes. "One of the deacons says, 'Brethren, now there is time left for contributions; wherefore, as God hath prospered you, so freely give.' The magistrates and chief gentlemen first, and then all the congregation, go up one way, putting their offering, if it be money, into a box, or if any other chattel—as a squash, a bag of beans or a spare-rib—depositing it before the deacons, and all return by another way to their seats. These gifts are for the poor and needy, many of whom from their designated places in the front galleries anxiously watch the deposits."

The service closes, and just as all are ready to start they halt to hear the voice of the town clerk cry out, "Jonathan Bishop and Esther Jennison intend marriage." As this is their second announcement it awakens no surprise, and all depart for their homes. In some meeting-houses there was a stool of repentance for transgressors,

who were placed on elevated seats, with labels designating their offenses so fixed upon their persons as to be seen by all. Confessions were also required to be made by penitents before the congregation on Sabbaths and lecture days.

In the seventeenth century no Scripture lessons were read in the New England pulpits. About 1700, the Brattle Street Church, Boston, introduced the practice of reading a Bible lesson, but they were called to order by the other churches. Some New England churches did not introduce this practice until near the close of the last century, and then only in the morning service.

When the meeting was over, says the writer already quoted, the people hurried home to kindle their fires, raking open the bed of coals on the hearth. If the fire had gone out they rekindled it by striking a flint against a piece of steel, throwing a spark upon tinder. After supper was over the family sat around the old fireplace and recited the catechism, beginning with "What is the chief end of man?" all taking part. It was a long time to bed-time, but there were no Sunday-school books, no religious papers, nothing to read except the Bible and the *Primer*, with the rhymes:

"Xerxes the Great did die
And so must you and I."

As the Sunday ended at dark, it came to be a question with many how dark it must be before it would do to work or play. The prevailing rule was that "when five stars could be seen the Sunday was at an end." When the boys could count the five stars their pent-up spirits burst wildly out in whoops and jumps.

The Music.

The music of the early part of the eighteenth century, in the better congregations, while not artistic, was doubtless essentially good, and expressive of devout feeling. Manuals and collections of sacred music had been published and were freely used.* Handel died in 1759 and Haydn was born in 1733. Rev. Dr. Chauncy, of Durham, Connecticut, published an able pamphlet on "Singing by Rule," as early as 1728. One of the smaller collections of *Hymns and Tunes* shows more than fifty tunes in use prior to 1800, and more than twenty-five which antedated 1760. This in a few of the better congregations, while the sparser and newer seldom used more than two or three, or perhaps a half dozen tunes.

* Before the close of the last century some collections of hymns had been published in New England, one of them containing 500 pages. They were expensive, however, and for that reason, and because many could not read, the hymns were "lined off."

Congregational singing was the general custom. In the latter part of the last century a few choirs were formed, and a revolution in the singing customs began. Musical instruments came in—bass viols, or "big fiddles," as they were contemptuously called, occasioning serious quarrels.

In the early New England churches the singing never ministered to the harmony of a Sabbath congregation. And there was a greater discord than ever in the meeting-houses when an attempt was made to improve the singing by forming choirs, and teaching them to read notes and sing "by rule." This was first done in the Brattle Street meeting house, Boston, in 1720. In the country towns the innovation met with stout opponents, who declared that it would lead to popery, and that "fa," "sol," "la," was the voice of the pope in disguise! Each party accused the other of disturbing the public worship of God, one in attempting to perpetuate the "old way," the other to force in the "new way" of singing. The opponents of the new way said that the old way was more solemn, and that the new way must be wrong because the young people so readily fell into it!

Some congregations did not understand the merits of the controversy well enough to have any opinion about it. On the Stamford, Connecticut, records is the following amiable decision:—

"Genewary ye 28, 1747. Voted yt. Mr Jona. Bell, or any other man agreed upon to sing or tune ye Salm in his absence in times of publick worship, may tune it in ye old way or new way, which suits you best."

At Windsor, Connecticut, in 1736, it was decided to sing "in the old way" in the morning and "in the new way" in the afternoon. The new way of singing gradually broke up the custom of employing a town reader to read aloud the hymns, line by line, to the singers, which was first introduced at Plymouth, in 1685, at the request of worshipers who could not read. This custom, which finally attached itself to the deacon's office, prevailed in all parts of New England for a hundred and fifty years, because it removed "the embarrassment resulting from the ignorance of those who were more skillful in giving sound to notes than in ciphering letters" (Lincoln's *Worcester*.) Education finally rendered the custom unnecessary, and the formation of choirs caused it to be destroyed. At Worcester, Massachusetts, August 5, 1779, it was "voted that the singers carry on singing in public worship, and that the mode of singing be without reading the psalms line by line, to be sung." On the next Sabbath the aged Dea. Chamberlain, unwilling to abandon the old custom, arose and read aloud the first line of the hymn as he had been accustomed to do. The singers, whose bold array stretched along the front of the gallery, sang line after line without noticing the deacon, while he, raising his voice, read the lines as usual, until the strength of the choir overpowered him. Then he took his hat and left the meeting-house, weeping and mortified. But the Church, not satisfied with this triumph over the old man, publicly censured him, and deprived him of communion because he had absented himself "from the public ordinances on the Lord's day."*

Long Sermons and Long Prayers.

The prayers as well as the sermons in those days were very long. A little more than two hundred years ago Jasper Dankers and Peter

* A writer in *The New York Observer*.

Sluyter, of Friesland, visited Boston, and gave the following account of the exercises on a certain day for fasting and prayer:

We went into the church, where, in the first place, a minister made a prayer in the pulpit of full two hours in length, after which an old minister delivered a sermon an hour long, and after that a prayer was made and some verses sung out of the Psalms. In the afternoon three or four hours were consumed with nothing except prayers, three ministers relieving each other alternately; when one was tired the other went up into the pulpit.

A suggestive record of an early Thanksgiving Day service (Dec. 22d, 1630) is worth introducing.

Beginning some half an hour before nine, and continued until after twelve o'clock, ye day being very cold—beginning with a short prayer, then a psalm sung, then more large in prayer, after that another psalm and the Word taught, after that prayer and then a psalm.

A certain preacher of the olden time, after exhausting his sand-glass, which ran an hour, turned it and kept on. When he had gone through with three fourths of another hour the congregation had nearly all retired, and the clerk, tired out, audibly asked his reverend superior to lock up the church and put the key under the door when the sermon was done, as he and the few remaining auditors were going home.

The stories which have come down to our day about the length of the prayers by the ministers in the early times seem exaggerated and fabulous, but they are doubtless true. The author of this volume, while writing these lines, has before him a book of written sermons by Rev. Thomas Clapp, who graduated at Harvard College, and was settled in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1725. On the introductory leaves is a "Scheme of Prayer," covering six pages, in fine writing. It is divided into five general heads, with numerous sub-heads; there are four and even seven grades of sub-divisions as follows:—

Part I. ADORATION OF GOD—thirty-one sub-heads.

Part II. CONFESSION—forty-nine sub-heads, in five classes, designated by Hebrew numerals, capital letters, Roman numerals, Arabic numerals, and small letters.

Part III. PETITIONS—ninety sub-heads, in five classes, as above.

Part IV. THANKSGIVING—forty-two sub-heads, in seven classes.

Part V. INTERCESSION—twenty-eight sub-heads, in four classes. Total, two hundred and forty sub-heads.

We can easily imagine that an hour would be consumed in offering a prayer upon this elaborate plan.* It would contain a body of divinity.

* Hon. Samuel Sewall mentions a fast at which, after three persons had prayed and one had preached, "another prayed about an hour and a half." *Diary*, vol. I, p. 76.

The sermons of this minister are also a curiosity. The pages measure seven inches by four and a half, but so closely written that the average number of words in a page is eight hundred and nineteen.* The *North American Review*, at the present time, averages about four hundred and fifty printed words per page. The printed matter is six and a half inches by four inches, a little smaller than the pages of the MS. in question. But the *North American Review* has forty-one lines per page, and averages eleven words to a line, while this MS. has sixty-three written lines, and averages thirteen words in a line.† We can easily understand why the reading desks in those times were built so high—a necessity in reading such closely written sermons.

Section 4.—The Catechism.

The Catechism was an important element in the religious history of New England, but its origin antedates the Puritans. Two hundred and fifty years before the Pilgrims landed on our shores, John Wickliffe wrote the first catechism of which there is now any knowledge. R. Legatt's catechism appeared in 1545; King Edward VI.'s *Short Catechism*, in 1553; Calvin's catechism, in Geneva in 1536, and in England in 1560. A great number of catechisms, large and small, were published by the Puritans, Nonconformists, and Independents, in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. Rev. William Perkins's catechism was translated into Dutch and printed by William Brewster (Father of the Pilgrims) at his press in Leyden, in 1617, in a stout quarto of 184 pages. It was much used by Nonconformists in Old and New England, and was translated (probably by one of the Mayhews, though not printed) into the Indian language. Rev. Daniel Rogers, son of the proto-martyr, prepared a catechism which was much used by the Puritans, and to some extent in New England.

Thomas Lechford, an English attorney and scrivener, who passed about three years in Massachusetts, 1638–41, and after his return to London published his *Plaine Dealing or Newes from New England*, complained that there was here "no catechising of children or others in any church, except in Concord church, and, in other places, of those admitted [to Church membership] in their receiving. . . . But God be thanked," he adds, "the Generall Court was so wise, in June last [1641], as to enjoyn or take some course for such catechising, as I am informed."

* Some of them contain over eight hundred and fifty words per page.

† These sermons cover about eighteen or twenty pages.

The vote of the court as it appears in the record was, "It is desired that the Elders would make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion."

The fact seems to be that the early Congregationalists in New England did not object to *catechising*, but had some differences of opinion about *catechisms*; and, moreover, they regarded the catechetical instruction of the young as a duty of the *household* rather than a distinct office of the Church. As Mr. Cotton expressed it (in his answer to John Ball's discourse of *Set Formes of Prayer*), "The excellent and necessary use of catechising young men and novices . . . we willingly acknowledge; but little benefit have we seen reaped from set forms of questions and answers devised by one church and imposed by necessity on another." The objection to "set forms" was not to be removed by any action of the general court. If any form must be adopted, every church looked to its own minister to provide one. "Public catechising of children or others, in *church*," *was not* generally practiced, but there is abundant evidence that catechising in the family and in schools was not neglected, and soon there was no lack of approved catechisms written and printed in New England. At the end of the century Cotton Mather wrote:

"Few pastors of mankind ever took such pains at catechising as have been taken by our New English divines. Now, let any man living read the most judicious and elaborate catechisms published, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Norton, a lesser and a larger by Mr. [Richard] Mather, several by Mr. Cotton, one by Mr. Davenport [and sundry others], and say whether true divinity were ever better handled." *

Catechisms were prepared by Richard Mather and John Cotton (*Spiritual Milk for Babes*) and printed in numerous editions. In 1697 Cotton Mather wrote that "the children of New England are to this day most usually fed with this (John Cotton's) excellent catechism," and in 1702 he called it "peculiarly *The Catechism of New England*," and predicted that "it will be valued, studied, and improved until New England ceases to be New England." "It made a part of *A Primer for the Colony of Connecticut*, printed about 1715, and of *The New England Primer*, improved in the editions of 1775, 1777, and after. A translation of it into the Indian language of Massachusetts, by Rev. Grindal Rawson, was printed in 1691, and again in the *Indian Primer* of 1720." †

The Assembly's Shorter Catechism was before Parliament in 1647. But many catechisms were prepared by individual pastors: Rev. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge; John Fiske, of Chelmsford; John Norton, of Boston; Davenport, of New Haven; Stone, of Hartford; Fitch, of Norwich; Noyes, of Newbury; Cotton Mather and others.

The Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism (first printed in 1647) was reprinted at Cambridge in 1665, and again, with "the proofs out of the Scriptures,"

* *Articles on Catechisms in Old and New England.* By J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., in the *Sunday-School Times*, September 8 and 15, 1883, to which the author is greatly indebted.

† J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D.

Boston, 1683. At what date it was introduced into the *New England Primer* is not ascertained. It does not appear in the contents of the "enlarged" *Primer* of 1691, or of the *Connecticut Primer* of 1715, but it makes a part of the earliest *New England Primer* of which any complete copy is preserved—the one printed at Boston, in 1737. Cotton Mather tells us that the Rev. John Fiske, of Chelmsford, who died in 1677, "did, by most laborious catechising, endeavor to know the state of his flock, and make it good," and, "although he did himself compose and publish a most useful catechism, *Watering of the Olive Plant*, before mentioned, yet he chose the *Assembly's Catechism* for his public expositions, wherewith he twice went over it in discourses before his afternoon sermons." The Rev. Samuel Willard, of Boston, gave his people a course of two hundred and fifty lectures, continued for more than nineteen years (1688–1707), on the *Shorter Catechism*, and these lectures were published after his death, in a stout folio, as a "body of divinity." But, until the middle of the eighteenth century, "the *children* of New England" were (as Mather said) "most usually fed with Cotton's *Milk for Babes*," or some of the many catechisms written for the use of particular congregations.*

Describing *The New England Primer*, Dr. Trumbull says:

The contents of the little book are nearly the same as in the editions of fifty years ago, which some of us remember. There are "The Great Capital Letters" and "The Small Letters," the "Easie Syllables for Children"—*ab, eb, ib, ob, ub*, and the rest—the "Words of One Syllable," and upward, to those terrible "words of five syllables, beginning with "A-bom-i-na-tion" and ending with "Qual-i-fi-ca-tion." Then comes the chief attraction of the *Primer*, the rude woodcuts and their associated rhymes, from

"In *Adam's* Fall
We sinned all,"

down, through the alphabet, to

"*Zaccheus* he
Did climb the Tree."

These are followed by "The Dutiful Child's Promises" (which take the place given in later editions to the series of Scripture questions beginning with "Who was the first Man?"); then "An Alphabet of Lessons for Youth," in verses or parts of verses from the Bible; "A wise son maketh a glad father," etc. After these the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; texts teaching the "Duty of Children toward their Parents," and, on two following pages, six verses, one of which every child was directed to "learn by heart:"

"Have communion with few,
Be intimate with ONE.
Deal justly by all,
Speak evil of none."

Another of these short verses every child did learn from his mother if not from his *Primer*—the prayer at lying down; more familiar to English-speaking Protestants than any other, the Lord's Prayer only excepted. Lisped in infancy, breathed—with closed lips possibly—in middle age, reaching beyond and above all distinctions of creed and differences of doctrine, its every syllable hallowed by early

* J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D.

associations, that evening prayer has ascended to God from the hearts of "a great multitude which no man can number:"

> "Now I lay me down to sleep;
> I pray the Lord my soul to keep;
> If I should die before I wake,
> I pray the Lord my soul to take."

Only a short time before his death the venerable John Quincy Adams said that he had never laid his head upon his pillow without saying this prayer, as his mother taught him to do in childhood.

. . . . . .

After the short verses, prayers at lying down and for the morning, and the "Names and Orders of the Books of the Old and New Testament," come (in the *Primer* of 1737) the "verses for little children," beginning:

> "Though I am young, a little one,"

and the hymn—

> "Lord, if Thou lengthen out my days."

Then, turning the leaf, we have the principal embellishment of the volume, in the rude type-metal cut of "Mr. John Rogers, minister of the Gospel in London, the first martyr in Queen Mary's reign," about to be burnt at Smithfield, "his wife with nine small children, and one at her breast, following him to the stake."

Without giving Dr. Trumbull's description in full, we pass to what he says of later editions of the *Primer*.

Between the *Primer* of 1737 and that of 1768 came the great revival of religion. Edwards and Bellamy, and the ministers they had trained, had given a new cast to New England theology. This is not the time or place to discuss the nature or extent of the change which had taken place in the religious teaching of New England, but we may observe some indications of it even in the *Primer*. The earlier *Primers* were distinctly Protestant, or rather anti-papal. They were designed to inculcate hatred of Romanism—hatred which, for the first century and a half of our colonial existence, was intensified by *fear*. In the *Primer* of 1768 "the Pope, or Man of Sin" no longer appears as a bugbear on the first page. The general tone becomes *evangelical* rather than anti-papal. This point deserves notice, because an exactly opposite conclusion has been formed by previous writers, who had not an opportunity of examining the earlier editions. Mr. George Livermore, to whose articles on *The New England Primer* I have more than once referred, had seen no copy of earlier date than 1775. This was the edition which was reprinted in 1843 by Mr. Ira Webster, and which has been popularly regarded as the "original *New England Primer*." It was, in fact, one of the few editions which copied the "improved" *Primer* of 1768. More modern editions are founded on the earlier type, and the deviations in these editions from the *Primers* of 1768 and 1775, instead of being, as Mr. Livermore and other critics have argued, "unwarrantable alterations," are, in fact, a return to the original Puritan standard.

The catechism was used in the religious families with great uniformity and punctiliousness during the last century. The time

most generally observed for catechising the children was after the return from worship on Sunday afternoon. Besides this, in some places, the parish minister visited the district school twice each term, when all the pupils were required to repeat the catechism. In some schools in Connecticut the catechism was attended to at the close of the half-day school on Saturday, or, if no session Saturday, on Friday afternoon.

Section 5.—Thanksgivings and Fasts.

The Thanksgiving custom did not originate with the colonists. Among the Jews the Feast of Tabernacles was a thanksgiving for the harvest. In England, under Edward III., after the battle of Cressy there was a national thanksgiving; another under the Black Prince; another under Henry V., after the battle of Agincourt. The Puritans brought this custom to America. On December 11, 1621, o. s., the first thanksgiving on American shores was observed at Plymouth, in view of a good harvest. In 1630 a general thanksgiving was appointed for the safe arrival of Winthrop and his party, and another the following year for the arrival of provisions. During the infancy of these colonies this festival had no stated season, but was appointed on occasions of success, the civil power ordaining the feast, although the religious element was the power behind them. Later it was a stated yearly observance. Outside of New England this festival was unknown till late in the last century. Fast days were also extensively observed, and with great punctiliousness, at first only occasionally, but later a regular yearly observance.

CHAPTER VII.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS.

SEC. 1. In New England.
" 2. In the Middle Colonies.
" 3. In the South.
SEC. 4. Jesuit and Protestant Missions compared.
" 5. Results.

THE early Protestant colonists have been severely aspersed for their treatment of the Indians. They have been accused of maintaining an unkind, suspicious attitude, of rushing hastily into hostilities,* and making only a few tardy, feeble efforts for the conversion of the natives to Christianity, while the Spanish and French colonists, it is claimed, drew the red men into cordial relations and converted them in large numbers to the papal faith. The situation should be considered.

The Spanish and French, in advance of all Protestant settlements, had occupied the northern and southern borders, and were intent upon the possession of the whole country. Studiously attaching the Indians to themselves and fostering jealousy and hatred toward the English, the Jesuits, working in the interests of Spain and France, kept the Indian mind biased against the English colonists and strongly predisposed to hostility. Even the natives living within or near the lines of the Protestant settlements were tainted with the infection, and with difficulty were held in affiliation. Almost all the troubles of the English colonists may be traced to this source.

Section 1.—In New England.

The principal tribes of Indians in New England were the *Pequots*, in north-eastern Connecticut; the *Mohegans*, in south-eastern Connecticut; the *Narragansetts*, in Rhode Island, and Bristol County,

* Bishop Wilberforce, in his *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, says: "It is calculated that 180,000 of the aboriginal inhabitants were slaughtered by them (the colonists) in Massachusetts and Connecticut alone." How absurd! It is probable there were not 30,000 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, in 1630.

Massachusetts; the *Pawkunnawkutts*, on Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and the neighboring shores, as far as the Plymouth Colony and the Cape; the *Massachusetts*, around Massachusetts Bay and back to the center of the State; the *Pawtucketts*, in the northern and eastern part of Massachusetts, and extending into New Hampshire and a small part of Maine; the *Algonquins*, further east, roaming through northern New Hampshire, Vermont, and the Canadas; the *Housatonnocs*, on the rivers in western Massachusetts and Connecticut. At one time, shortly before the settlement at Plymouth began, it is said that the Pequots could muster 4,000 warriors; the Narragansetts, 5,000; the Pawkunnawkutts, 3,000; the Massachusetts, 3,000; the Pawtucketts, 3,000; a total of 18,000 men, indicating an Indian population of about 70,000. About 1612–13 a terribly fatal epidemic swept them off by tens of thousands. The Pawtucketts were reduced to about 250 men, besides women and children. The other tribes were greatly decimated, but not so seriously. Probably 30,000 would be a high estimate for the number of Indians, if we except the Algonquins, in all New England in 1630.

The Royal Charter of the *Plymouth* Colony called for "the conversion of such savages as yet remain wandering in desolation and distress to civil society and the Christian religion." The charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony enjoined the duty to win the natives "to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind," and the seal of the colony presented the figure of an Indian with a label at his mouth on which was inscribed the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us." And when it was reported to Rev. John Robinson, at Leyden, that, in an early skirmish with the Indians, some of them had been killed, he wrote to the governor, "O that you had converted some before you had killed any." In less than one year from the landing at Plymouth Robert Cushman wrote to England that many of the Indians were "tractable both to religion and humanity;" that if the colonists had means they would instruct many of the native children, and that young men of wealth in England would do well to come over and devote themselves to this work. During the earlier years of hardships and privations much was done, by both ministers and laymen, as opportunity offered, to impart the Gospel to their heathen neighbors, and some of them gave satisfactory evidence of conversion to Christ. As early as 1636, in the Plymouth Colony, laws were enacted providing for the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians.

These Pilgrims and Puritans were the pioneers of the Protestant world in attempts to convert heathen to Christ. They were missionary colonies—self-supporting missions—composed of men who went on their own responsibility and at their own expense, to establish their posterity among the heathen, whose salvation they sought. Nor should it be omitted that for more than fifty years, if we except one short, sharp, bloody conflict, brought about by an out-settlement of factious men who could not be tolerated at Plymouth, the founders of Massachusetts lived in peace with the Indian tribes. Scarcely a gleam of light shone into the minds of these savages. They adored the sun and the moon, and were in bondage to a system of conjuring and of professed intercourse with evil spirits. Their condition was so degraded that Rev. John Eliot, in his first letter to England in regard to the Indians, said:

Wee are oft upbraided by some of our countrymen (*i. e.*, in England), that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of natives. Such men have surely more splene than judgment, and know not the vast distance of natives from common civility, almost humanity itself; and 'tis as if they should reproach us for not making the winds to blow when we list ourselves. It must certainly be a spirit of life from God which must put flesh and sinews unto these dry bones. If wee would force them to baptisme (as the Spanish do about Cusco, Peru, and Mexico, having learnt them a short answer or two to some popish questions), or if wee would hire them to it by giving them coates and shirts to allure them to it, wee could have gathered many hundreds, yea thousands, it may be, by this time into the churches; but wee have not learnt, as yet, the art of coyning Christians, or putting Christ's name and image upon copper mettle."

The General Court of Massachusetts (Nov. 19, 1644) ordered:

That the county courts should take care that the Indians residing in their several shires should be civilized, and that they should have power to take order, from time to time, to have them instructed in the knowledge and worship of God.

Two years later the court

Ordered and decreed that two ministers should be chosen by the elders of the churches every year at the court of election, and so to be sent with the consent of their churches, with whomsoever would freely offer themselves to accompany them in that service, to make known the heavenly counsel of God among the Indians, in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter, . . . and that something might be allowed them by the General Court to give away freely to those Indians whom they should perceive most willing and ready to be instructed by them.

Rev. John Eliot.

Rev. John Eliot was educated in Cambridge University, England, came to Boston in 1631, and was settled as "Teacher" of the

Church, in Roxbury, in 1632. He was eminently an intellectual and devout man of high character. Almost simultaneously with Thomas Mayhew, on Martha's Vineyard, he gave himself to the work of converting the Indians, and urged the subject upon the attention of the colonists in their legislative assembly. President Dunster, of Harvard College, advised that they be instructed through their own language rather than the English. From his first settlement in Roxbury, Eliot had given much attention to the welfare of the natives. Long after his efforts seemed hopeful to himself he encountered incredulity and opposition from those around him.

Eliot's preliminary preparation extended through several years. An Indian captured in the Pequot wars, and who lived in Dorchester, was the first native, "whom he used to teach him words and to be his interpreter." He took the most unwearied pains in his strange lessons from this uncouth teacher, finding progress very slow and baffling, receiving no aid from the other tongues which he had learned and taught in England, and which were so "difficultly constructed, inflected, and augmented."

Though he is regarded as having gained an "amazing mastery of the Indian language, he frequently, even to the close of a half century in his work, avowed and lamented his lack of skill in it. He secured from time to time what he called the more 'nimble-witted natives, young or grown,' to live with him in Roxbury and to accompany him on his visits, to interchange with him words and ideas."*

First Sermon to the Indians

After two years of study Eliot ventured to preach in the Indian tongue. On the 28th of October, 1646, on a hill† in Nonantum, about four or five miles from Roxbury, he discoursed for an hour and a quarter to the dusky natives, from Ezekiel 38: 9. Here resided Waban, one of the principal chiefs, who had gathered his tribe to listen to the new message. Eliot's "prayer was in English, as he scrupled, lest he might use some unfit or unworthy terms in the solemn office." This prompted an inquiry from his interested but bewildered listeners, whether God would understand prayers offered to Him in the Indian tongue. His method in subsequent visits, when he gained more confidence, was to offer a short prayer in Indian; to recite and explain the ten commandments; to describe

* Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., in *Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. I, p. 260.

† Within the present limits of the city of Newton, on the south bank of the Charles River, opposite to Watertown.

the character, work, and offices of Christ as Saviour and judge: to tell his hearers about the creation, fall, and redemption of man, and to persuade them to repentance. He then encouraged them to put any questions that rose in their minds, promising answers and explanations. Some of their queries were so apt and pertinent, indicating so much acumen,* that their good friend was often puzzled to satisfy them. Cotton Mather, in commending Eliot's style in sermonizing, said: "Lambs might wade into his discourses on those texts and themes, wherein elephants might swim." Such a style must have been equally suited to his white and red auditors. Some of the leading men of the colony, magistrates and ministers, occasionally accompanied Eliot on his preaching visits, and however they may have fallen short of his enthusiasm and hopefulness, they gratefully appreciated his devotion and zeal." †

The following week Eliot met another company of Indians at Neponset, about four miles south-west from his own home, in the wigwam of Chicatabut, chief of another tribe. Between Nonantum and Neponset he alternated his labors. These chiefs soon became zealous helpers of Eliot, and their people generally accepted Christianity.

Interest in England.

Eliot's narrative of his Indian labors was printed in England, in 1647, under the quaint title, *The Day-Breaking if Not the Sun Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New England.* In 1648 another from Rev. Thomas Shepard appeared, entitled, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth Upon the Indians in New England*, and dedicated "To the Godly and Well-affected of This Kingdom of England." This tract "begat a debate," in the House of Commons, "how the Parliament of England might be serviceable to the Lord Jesus to help forward such a work begun." After two years' delay, in 1649 an act was passed entitled, "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." This ordinance set forth that

> Divers heathen natives of New England had, through the blessing of God upon the pious care and pains of some godly English, from being very barbarous become civil, but many of them forsaking their sorceries and other satanical delusions, did

* Being told that they were the children, not of God, but of the devil, they were naturally interested chiefly in the latter. They asked, "Whether ye devil or man was made first? Whether there might not be something, if only a little, gained by praying to ye devil? Why does not God, who has full power, kill ye devil that makes all men so bad? If God made hell in one of the 'six days,' why did he make it before Adam had sinned? If all ye world be burned up, where shall hell then be?'"

† *Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. I, p. 262.

then call upon the name of the Lord; and that, for the propagation of the Gospel among these poor heathen, universities, schools and nurseries of learning must be settled, and instruments and material fit for labor and clothing, with other necessaries, must be provided.

The ordinance enacted that a corporation of sixteen persons should be formed with power to hold lands, goods, and money. Collections for the corporation were ordered in all the cities, towns and parishes of England. Under the superintendence of Edward Winslow £12,000 were soon raised and invested. Correspondence was opened with the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England, through whom the work of evangelization was to be carried on, meeting annually in September, in Boston, Hartford, New Haven and Plymouth, in rotation. Edward Rawson, Secretary of Massachuetts Bay Colony, held the treasuryship till his death, in 1693.

The commissioners kept in close communication with Eliot and the Mayhews, and employed others as assistants, both Englishmen and natives, as circumstances permitted. Young men were selected to be fitted at Harvard College for future service as teachers of Indian youth, and a small building for the accommodation of native pupils was erected within the college precincts. Provision was made for printing catechisms and an Indian Bible. Between 1651 and 1660, six tracts in the Indian language, known as "Eliot's Tracts," were published in England.

The death of Cromwell, under whose patronage the English movement had been sustained, and the restoration of the Stuarts affected all the interests of religion as well as of the State. Hugh Peters, who had been for a short time an honored pastor in Massachusetts, an active promoter of the cause of Indian evangelization, suffered death on Tower Hill. The corporation,* being a creature of the Long Parliament, ceased to exist, and even its invested property was in danger. But by the wise management of Hon. Robert Boyle the king was conciliated and a royal charter obtained. Boyle presided over the company nearly thirty years. Eliot's translation of the New Testament into the Mohican dialect of the Indian language was published in Boston, in 1661, and dedicated with fulsome compliments to Charles II. In 1663 the publication of the Indian Bible was completed, by a font of type sent from England by the society. The second edition of Eliot's Bible appeared in 1685, in which he was aided by Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth. The follow-

* For a fuller account of this early organization see *Andover Review*, October, 1885. Article by Hamilton Andrews Hill, to which the author acknowledges indebtedness.

ing year the *The Practice of Piety*, by Bishop Bayly, translated by Eliot, appeared in the Indian language.

The First Indian Settlement.

Worldlings complained of Eliot for injuring the trade in peltries, by calling off the Indians from the chase, and settling them in agricultural pursuits. Magistrates were sometimes unfaithful to their covenants. Indian powwows, magicians, sorcerers, and medicine-men were secretly jealous, sometimes actively hostile. King Philip, hearing of Eliot's work, refused to receive the missionaries, and spoke in bitter contempt of the English religion. On one occasion he heard Eliot, but scorned his message, and, taking hold of a button on Eliot's coat, told him he cared no more for his religion than for the button. Cotton Mather called the hard-hearted Philip "a blasphemous Leviathan." Uncas, the Mohegan sachem, forbade any proselyting work among his Indians.

After deliberate examination of several localities Eliot made choice of a region which stills bears its original name, Natick, for his first experiment for the subjects of his care, who came to be known as "the praying Indians." A considerable number of the natives were gathered here in 1651. Eliot kept the general court informed of all his proceedings and sought its sympathy and aid. It is curious to read on the records enactments by which portions of one wilderness territory, the whole of which had so recently been regarded by the savages as in their unchallenged ownership, were bounded off as henceforward to be their own for improvement. *

The experiment at Natick, the first of a series of a dozen others subsequently made under the care of Eliot, was thoroughly undertaken. Retaining for a short time his parish at Roxbury, he alternated between Natick and Neponset, riding on horseback in all weathers, through woods, swamps and streams, carrying miscellaneous burdens for his neophytes. With quiet enthusiasm, meek patience, and steady advances, he met the obstacles almost constantly presented by an intractable race, and with mild virtues he parried the coldness and distrust of many of the colonists, looking in hope "for the coming in of ye fullness of ye Gentiles."

The Indian community at South Natick was divided by the Charles River, over which the natives built a strongly arched footbridge, eighty feet long. Three streets ran parallel with the stream, two on one side and one on the other, with lots marked for houses, tillage, and pasturage. A palisaded fort inclosed a meeting-

* *Memorial History of Boston.* Article by Rev. Geo. E. Ellis D.D., Vol I, p. 262. J. R. Osgood & Co.

house fifty feet long and twenty-five wide, built of squared timber, in English fashion, by the natives, and used for worship and a school. The village soon began to wear an aspect of industry, thrift and comfort. In deference to the Indians the wigwam was allowed, but cleanliness and decency were insisted upon. A government by rulers of tens, fifties, and hundreds was formed, with magistrates and school-teachers of both sexes of their own race. September 24, 1651, they entered into a solemn religious covenant, "with God and each other, to be governed by the word of the Lord in all things." The house for public worship also answered for a school-room.

"Here it was," says Cotton Mather, "that in the year 1651 those that had heretofore lived like wild beasts in the wilderness now compacted themselves into a town, and applied themselves to forming a civil government. . . . Mr. Eliot, on a solemn fast, made a public vow that, seeing these Indians had not any form of civil government, he would instruct them in such a form as we have in the Word of God, so that they in all things might be a people ruled by the Lord. . . . The little town of Indians being thus pitched upon this foundation, they utterly abandoned that polygamy which had hitherto been common among them; they made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and other immoralities.

They soon desired to be organized as a church. A day was therefore set apart, called *a day of asking questions*, when the ministers of neighboring churches, assisted by interpreters, examined a goodly number of these Indians as to their knowedge and religious experience. The results were satisfactory, and it was decided that a church should be constituted.

They proceeded very cautiously, however, and the Church was not formed until 1660, the Indians being kept as catechumens for several years.

South Natick was the first of the Indian communities. In 1670 it consisted of 29 families, from whom 60 or 70 persons had become communicants. The other Indian communities were: Packemitt, in Stoughton, 12 families; Hassanamessett, in Grafton, 12 families; Okommackamesit, in Marlborough, 10 families; Wamesit, in Tewksbury, 15 families; Nashobah, Chelmsford and Groton, 10 families; Maqunkaquog, Hopkinton, 5 families. There were others in Oxford, Dudley, Auburn, Littleton, Uxbridge, Brookfield and Woodstock, Connecticut—14 towns, within 70 miles of Boston, with 1,100 souls, all of which Eliot visited, and in all of which there were some praying Indians under his spiritual supervision.

In 1656 the General Court commissioned Daniel Gookin, a man of high character, and Eliot's most attached co-worker, as the gen-

eral magistrate over all the Indian towns. The income of the English society for converting and civilizing the Indians, amounting to the then large sum of about £700 annually, was expended for the salaries of the missionaries, in printing books, furnishing goods, tools, clothing, etc. Eliot's salary, even after his whole time was devoted to this work, never exceeded £50. Eliot died in 1690. Tackawambit, an Indian neophyte, succeeded him as pastor of the Natick church; but he did not long survive the apostle Eliot, and the church fast declined.

An Indian Magistrate.

Thomas Waban, an Indian justice of the peace in this settlement, was highly esteemed. How he enforced law may be judged from the following warrant which he issued:

"You big constable, you quick catchum, Jeremiah Offscow; strong you hold um; safe you bring um afore me." THOMAS WABAN, JUSTICE.

When Waban became superannuated a younger magistrate was appointed to succeed him. Cherishing respect for age and experience, the new officer waited upon Waban for advice. Having stated a variety of cases and received satisfactory answers, he at length proposed the following; "When Indian get drunk, and quarrel, and fight and act like devil, what you do?" Waban quickly answered, "Tie um all up, and whip um plaintiff, whip um fendant and whip um witness."

Eliot traveled extensively among the Indians from Cape Cod to Worcester County, and occasionally visited Martha's Vineyard. He translated the Bible into the Indian language,* a work attended with great difficulty, from the Indian habit of clustering together in one prolonged word the separate ideas which, in our language, are expressed in several words. This Indian Bible,† with catechisms, psalms, primers, grammars, "Practice of Piety," Baxter's "Call," etc, translated into the Indian tongue by Eliot, were printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at the expense of the English Society.

Other Laborers in Eastern Massachusetts.

In 1721, thirty-one years after Eliot's death, Rev. Oliver Peabody was induced to go Natick and labor for the good of the

* "Its words," said Cotton Mather, "are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar in the world; one would think they had been growing ever since Babel."

† In 1663, 1,500 copies were printed; in 1685, 2,000 copies—the first and only Bibles printed in America until the time of the Revolution.

Indians. At that time there were but two families of white people in the town. Among the Indians there was no church, nor a member of a church, nor even a person known to have been baptized; for though a church had been formed there sixty years before, by Eliot, it had become extinct.* In 1729 a church was gathered, partly of English and partly of Indians, three of the former and five of the latter. Under Mr. Peabody's influence the Indians were conformed to the usages of civilized society, and some of them exhibited fruits of a religious life. In about twenty-two years one hundred and sixty Indians were baptized, of whom thirty-five were admitted to the church. Mr. Peabody died in 1752, greatly beloved.

In the colony of Plymouth, Revs. Richard Bourne and Rowland Cotton, of Sandwich, John Cotton, and Thomas Tupper, labored among the Indians. The praying Indians in Massachusetts, in 1685, were numbered at 1,435, besides other members of the Indian families.

Rev. Samuel Treat, eldest son of Robert Treat, Governor of Connecticut, while pastor at Eastham, Massachusetts, 1672–1717, became interested in the welfare of the Indians, who were numerous in his vicinity. He commenced the study of their language, and so far mastered it as to be able to preach intelligibly to the Indians, fully equaling Eliot himself. Through his influence they were brought into a condition of order, civilization, and a practical knowledge of Christianity. There were five hundred and five adult Indians in the township, of whom he said he did not know one habitually absent from religious worship. They were organized in four villages, with four teachers in religion and general knowledge, who every week conferred with Mr. Treat in regard to their work. Six justices of the peace and other officers of their own people regulated civil affairs. A Confession of Faith was translated into their language. But before Mr. Treat's death a fatal disease swept off most of the Indians.

The Mayhews on Martha's Vineyard.

The same year that Eliot began his labors at Nonantum the two Thomas Mayhews (father and son—the father the governor of the island and the son the minister) commenced a similar work on Martha's Vineyard. The son had been educated at Cambridge, Mass., but his English flock was small, and his compassion was

* There had been a very great and serious decline of spiritual religion in all the Massachussets churches. It extended from about 1660 to 1735.

moved toward the untaught natives, several thousand of whom existed on the islands of Buzzards' Bay. He treated the Indians with great kindness, learned their language, and gradually won many of them to Christ. Thus was begun a series of labors which extended through several generations. These missionary Mayhews were: *Thomas, the second, 1646–1657; Thomas, the elder, 1658–1681; John, 1673–1689; Experience, 1694–1758.

The story of the labors and privations of the Mayhews is full of heroic and thrilling interest, but it cannot be here related in detail. As early as 1651, 199 men, women and children, had become worshipers of the true God, and thirty Indian scholars were collected in a school. By the end of 1652, 282 Indians, besides children, had renounced their false gods, and eight of the *powwows* had forsaken their trade. In 1657 Thomas Mayhew, the son, perished on his way to England to seek assistance for his mission, and his venerable father, though governor of the island, and sixty years old, took up the work, visited the plantations, learned the language, and persevered in his mission toils until his death, at ninety-two years of age. He was succeeded by his grandson, John Mayhew, who followed closely in the steps of his father and grandfather, and died in 1689, after sixteen years spent in his ministry. His eldest son, Experience Mayhew, followed in the same field of toil five years after his father's death, and died in 1758. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, subsequently an able minister of Boston, was his second son. In 1727 Experience Mayhew published a volume in which he gave an account of the lives of thirty Indian ministers and about eighty Indian men, women and chidren, who resided on Martha's Vineyard, worthy of remembrance on account of their piety. His son, Zaccheus Mayhew, was employed in promoting the Gospel among the Indians in North America until his death in 1803. King Philip's war, in 1675, greatly injured this mission work, but it soon recovered, and in 1698 Revs. Grindal Rawson and Samuel Danforth, visited the several plantations of Indians in Massachusetts and reported to the Society for Propagating the Gospel thirty distinct assemblies of Indians, with thirty-six teachers, five school-masters and twenty rulers, comprising, in all, 3,080 souls. All the above officers and teachers were Indians. The commissioners expressed a favorable opinion of the improvement and manners of the Indians, their sobriety, dress, and proficiency in reading and writing.

In Connecticut and Rhode Island Indian missions were less successful. The Narragansetts were decidedly opposed to Chris-

* See Sprague's Annals, Trinitarian-Clergymen. Vol. I, p 131.

tianity, though they permitted Roger Williams to preach among them occasionally. Revs. Messrs. Pierson and Fitch labored industriously among the Pequots, and the Mohegans also received much attention. In 1733 the Indians in Westerley and Charlestown, R. I., were visited by Rev. Mr. Parks, and Rev. Mr. Horton labored several years among the Montauk tribe on eastern Long Island.

Distinguished Friends of the Indians.

At the time of Eliot's death, in 1690, the celebrated Judge Sewall was a good friend of the Indian race, and devoted much time and thought to the society organized in their behalf. In their interest he officially visited Martha's Vineyard in 1702, 1706 and 1714. During this last visit arrangements were made for the occupation and cultivation of lands belonging to the society by the Indian families severally. Other friends of Indian evangelization were William Dummer and Thomas Hutchinson, among the laity; and Benjamin Coleman, Edward Wigglesworth, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, etc., among the clergy. This society continued in force until the Revolution.

The aggregate number of praying Indians in eastern Massachusetts in 1664 was estimated:*

Under Mr. Eliot's care.....	1,100	On Martha's Vineyard, etc., under the Mayhews.....	1,500
In Plymouth, under Mr. Bourne..	530		
In Plymouth, under Mr. Cotton..	170		
On the island Nantucket.....	300	Total.....	3,600

In Berkshire County, Mass.

The Stockbridge mission was full of interest. In the western part of Massachusetts was the small *Housatonnoc* tribe, so named from a river, which signifies *over the mountains*, flowing through that section. About 1720 the General Assembly of Massachusetts purchased two townships, Sheffield and Stockbridge, with a reservation of two tracts for the exclusive occupancy of the Indians, *Skatekook* and *Wahktukook*. When the English commenced their settlements near them, Kunkapot, the principal Indian personage at the latter place, was soon discovered to be a worthy, industrious man, and favorably inclined toward Christianity. The Commissioners for Indians Affairs at Boston, hearing this, sent Revs. Messrs. Bull, of Westfield, and Williams, of Longmeadow, to confer with the Indians in reference to the establishment of a mission among them. The

* *American Quarterly Register*, February, 1832, p. 203.

conference took place in July, 1734, resulting in an agreement to receive a minister. In the following October Mr. John Sargeant, a tutor in Yale College, left New Haven to enter upon this mission field.

Immediately on his arrival he delivered a discourse through an interpreter, named Ebenezer, to an interested audience. This Indian, having already some knowledge of Christianity, expressed a desire to make an open profession, and was baptized in his wigwam the following day. An intermediate spot between the two reservations, which were eight or ten miles apart, was agreed upon, where the Indians should live together for the greater convenience of Sabbath worship and the instruction of their children. In addition to other difficulties attending such work among untutored savages he encountered trouble from an unexpected quarter. The Dutch traders on the Hudson sold rum to the Indians, taking advantage of their fits of intoxication to make dishonest and extravagant bargains. The introduction of Christianity these traders regarded as unfavorable to their business, and hence they exerted their influence to resist the establishment of the mission. By wise management, however, Mr. Sargeant effectually neutralized the base influence of the traders.

In January, 1735, deputies from the several clans which constituted the tribe of River Indians met in council, nearly two hundred in number, under Corlair, the chief sachem, and after repeated conferences approved of the action of their Housatonnoc brethren in consenting to be taught the Christian religion. In the autumn a considerable number were baptized. The year following the land grants to the Indians were reconstructed by the State so as to accommodate the Indians and the work of the mission also, and they were settled in one village, at Stockbridge, in 1737.

No missionary ever exceeded Mr. Sargeant in his devotion to these red men. When they went into the woods for some weeks at a time every year, to make maple sugar, Mr. Sargeant, unwilling that they should remain so long without instruction, accompanied them, in their own language prayed with them morning and evening, and preached on the Sabbath. In the day-time he taught their children to read, and in the evening the adults to sing, sleeping at night upon boughs and blankets. Several prayers and Dr. Watts's first catechism for the use of children were translated into their language, and another mission station eighteen miles to the north-west was opened, into which a few years later David Brainerd entered. So zealous was Mr. Sargeant to extend the blessings of the Gospel that he made extended tours to Indians occupying an island in the Hud-

son River, and even visited the Shawanoos, two hundred and twenty miles distant, on the Susquehanna.

At length Mr. Sargeant became convinced that the best results could not be accomplished until the Indians should be in some degree civilized, and exchange their barbarous language for the English. He therefore formed a plan for the education of Indian children which would more thoroughly affect their habits of thought and life. The plan included study, manual labor, and a knowledge of agriculture; for the girls, besides study, training in the duties of domestic life; and for all, knowledge of the principles of Christianity. By great exertion Mr. Sargeant carried his plan into effect before his death. Mr. Sargeant's annual-salary of $125 from the Commissioners of Indian Affairs at Boston was supplemented by individual donations, the General Court building the school-house and the house of worship. When he entered upon the field he found fifty Indians on the ground; when he died, in 1749, the number had increased to two hundred and nineteen, of whom one hundred and twenty-nine had been baptized and forty-two were communicants.

In 1751, through the joint action of the church at Stockbridge and the "Society in London for Propagating the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent," Jonathan Edwards, who had just been dismissed from his church at Northampton, entered upon the Stockbridge mission. Here he continued six years, but his more important labors were performed in his study, elaborating his great works on *Original Sin* and the *Freedom of the Will.* When Edwards was called to the presidency of Princeton College, he was followed at Stockbridge by Rev. Samuel West. Rev. John Sargeant, son of the preceding missionary, soon followed Mr. West, and, after many years of labor among the red men, died in 1824. The Indians, however, under the westward migration, gradually disappeared from their old haunts. Some were absorbed in the war of the Revolution; some went to western New York, thence to White River, Indiana, thence to Green Bay, thence to Lake Winnebago, etc.

Section 2.—In the Middle Colonies.

In the *New York* Colony Rev. Joannes Megapolensis preceded Rev. John Eliot, by three years, in labors for the religious welfare of the Indians. At Albany, then an extreme outpost of civilization, he interested himself in the Indians who came thither to trade, and so learned their "heavy language" as to speak and preach

fluently in it. The early records of the First Reformed Church in Albany contain many names of Indians converted, baptized and reeeived into the communion under his labors. During his stay in Albany, the celebrated Jesuit missionary, Isaac Jogues, was captured on the St. Lawrence by the Mohawks, and subjected to horrible cruelties. The Dutch at Albany tried to ransom him. At length escaping from his captors he was kept in close concealment by the Dutch for six weeks. During this time Megapolensis was his constant friend and rendered him every kindness in his power. Another Jesuit father, Simon Le Moyne, also became intimate with this Dutch parson at Fort Orange, and wrote three polemical essays to convert him to the papal faith; but the stanch dominie wrote a vigorous reply.

At Schenectady.

Almost all the early Dutch churches in New York and on the Delaware performed missionary work among the Indians, and their old records contain many names of Indian neophytes. The Dutch Church founded in 1680, in Schenectady, was in the midst of the Mohawks, with whom they held friendly relations. One of their pastors, in 1700, speaks of thirty-six of them as having received the Christian faith. Rev. Bernardus Freeman became well versed in the Indian tongue, speaking fluently and writing in it. The Liturgy of the Dutch Church was translated into the Indian language, particularly the morning and the evening prayers, the Creed of St. Athanasius and portions of the Old and New Testament. When they heard them read in their own tongue the natives were "mightily affected." The Dutch fathers at Albany and Schenectady looked upon the Mohawks as "something more than brutes from whom beaver-skins could be obtained." Three of the pastors at the latter place were missionaries to the Indians, and the records of that church show that hundreds of the red men became proselytes to the Christian faith, worshiping with the fathers in the old churches.

There they partook of the same communion together. There the Indian pappooses were held in the arms of their dusky mothers, who stood in beads and blankets before the same baptismal font at which awaited the white lady and her infant in christening quilt of silk and embroidery. There, too, the Indian lover stood with his Indian bride, and in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost vowed to love and cherish one wife in his wigwam. And when the fathers came annually to pay their pew rent or subscriptions in beaver-skins, the Christianized Indian came with like gifts for the sanctuary.*

* Memorial volume commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of the First Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in Schenectady, in 1880, p. 38.

Under the Episcopal Church in New York, at an early date, missions were undertaken among the Mohawks. Rev. Thoroughgood Moore arrived in New York in 1704 and proceeded to Albany as missionary among the Mohawks. Owing to the influence of the fur traders his labors proved fruitless, and he returned to New York. Rev. Thomas Barclay, missionary at Albany under the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, often visited the Indians beyond Schenectady, as early as 1708. He was followed in 1712 by Rev. William Andrews, who was welcomed with great formality and respect. Next Rev. Thomas Barclay and Rev. John Miles, successively rectors at Albany, extended their labors to the Mohawks. In 1734 Rev. Henry Barclay was appointed catechist to these Indians, at Fort Hunter. He found them docile and attentive, and catechised them Sunday evenings. Called away a few years, on his return he was received by his Indian neophytes with tears of joy. On an occasion of gathering of the Six Nations, to renew their league of friendship with the English, he preached to a large number of them, and had the pleasure of hearing the Mohawks make their responses regularly in the service. In 1741 Mr. Barclay reported 500 Indians settled in two towns, thirty miles from Albany, and 58 Indian communicants. In 1743 only two or three of the whole tribe remained unbaptized, and two Mohawks were employed as school masters. But his work was checked by the hostile intrigues and invasions of the French Indians.

In 1739 a zealous Moravian Christian, Henry Rauch, began a mission in New York State, not far from Kingston, but in five years he was compelled to move his converts to Pennsylvania. Numerous other Moravian missions were started.

Brainerd.

In 1742 Rev. David Brainerd, a young man of quenchless zeal and superior purity, was appointed missionary to the Indians by the British Society. At Kaunameek, an Indian village fifteen miles from Kinderhook, N. Y., he opened his commission. The following year he visited Indian villages on the Delaware River, in Pennsylvania, where he was favored with remarkable success, his congregation often being in tears under his fervent appeals, and in less than one year seventy-seven persons were baptized. Many who had been debased and profligate seemed wholly reformed. In 1746 he visited the Indians on the Susquehanna River. During this trip he contracted disease, which soon ended his life, at the early age of thirty years.

Among the Six Nations.

Rev. Gideon Hawley graduated at Yale College in 1749, early resolving to devote himself to labors among the Indians. First he assisted Edwards as a teacher at Stockbridge. Later, the commissioners at Boston engaged him to establish a mission in the country of the Iroquois, a hundred miles at least beyond the remotest boundary of civilization. Mr. Timothy Woodbridge, a gentleman of high character and great influence among the Indians, accompanied him. On their way they secured the influence and aid of Sir William Johnston at Albany. After encountering various perils and some hostility from wandering Indians, one of whom attempted to shoot Mr. Hawley, they reached Onohoghgwage, on the Susquehanna, where they were welcomed, In 1756 he was obliged to withdraw on account of the French and Indian war. Subsequently he settled among the Maeshapee Indians, in Massachusetts, in 1758, where he spent the residue of his long life in the most benevolent and self-denying labors for the salvation of the Indians, dying in 1807.

In 1762, at the request of the commissioners at Boston, Rev. Eli Forbes, D.D., of Brookfield, Mass., undertook a mission to the Oneida Indians, the chief tribe of the Six Nations in New York. With a colleague and an interpreter he set out for the distant field, reached the Mohawk River, which he followed for seventy miles, then turned southward to the Otsego Lake, then down one of the branches of the Susquehanna River, a hundred and twenty miles to a town called Onoquagie, containing three hundred inhabitants. Here he preached, established two schools and gathered a church. After tarrying three months he left them in the care of his colleague, Rev. Asaph Rice, and brought home several Indian children to be educated, some of whom became highly respectable and useful persons.

Rev. Samuel Kirkland, after long study of the dialects of the Six Nations, in 1771 undertook a mission to the Oneidas. The troubled condition of the country prevented Mrs. Kirkland from accompanying her husband and occasioned many interruptions in his labors. During the Revolution his mission was virtually discontinued and he was long absent from Oneida, sometimes serving as a chaplain in the Continental Army, and sometimes negotiating with the Indians in behalf of the Continental Congress. He was especially active in endeavoring to preserve the neutrality of the Six Nations during the war, making long journeys among the

tribes, and attending their councils. But through the influence of Brandt, the famous Mohawk warrior, the worst fears of the colonial patriots were realized by the rejection of overtures of peace and friendship by most of the Indians. In 1777 and 1778 he spent most of his time among the Oneidas. On the return of peace, at the earnest request of the Indians he returned to Oneida, and until his death, in 1808, performed a large amount of mission labor, and numerous valuable public services among the Indian tribes.*

As early as 1748 Rev. Elihu Spencer, one of the ablest men in Presbyterian annals, went as a missionary among the Oneidas. In 1752 the Presbytery of New York formally ordained and commissioned a missionary to the Indians, and in 1756 Mr. John Brainerd entered upon this service and continued his faithful labors until his death, in 1781. In 1761 a mission was established by the Presbyterians among the Oneidas, under the care of Rev. Samson Occum, an Indian of the Mohegan tribe, educated by Rev. Dr. Wheelock, at Lebanon, Conn. In 1763 the New York Presbytery appointed a committee of exploration among the Indians in the West, consisting of Rev. Drs. Allison, Witherspoon, and Rodgers, and Messrs. Brainerd and Ewing, to devise and report plans for more extensive operations.

Section 3.—In the South.

The Protestant efforts for the conversion of the aborgines to Christ date from the beginning of their settlements. The charter of the Virginia Colony enjoined that "all persons should kindly treat the savage and heathen people in those parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God." The first minister, Mr. Hunt, entered upon the work of propagating the Gospel among "such people as live in darkness." † Mr. Whitaker, his successor, was not backward in this work, and Pocahontas was the first Indian convert. In the infancy of the colony £500 were sent from England to be expended "in instructing the young Indians in the faith in Christ." Ten thousand acres of land were set apart for this institution, which was to comprise both English and Indian youth, and other large sums of money were contributed. The Colonial Legislature in 1619 and 1620 showed commendable zeal in this movement. Mr. George Thorpe, who

*For fuller account see Sprague's *Annals of the Trinitarian Pulpit*. Vol. I, p. 621, etc.
† Hazard's State Papers.

accepted the headship of the school, visited the Indian chiefs in their own haunts, to win them to Christ. The treatment of the natives was mild and friendly. The settlers' houses and tables were open to them, and Mr. Thorpe and his co-laborers fondly looked forward to the time when the Indian tribes should obtain salvation. But jealousies were secretly working in the minds of the Indians, and out of the apparent calm, suddenly, in 1622, there arose a fearful hurricane. The Indians sprang at once upon the slumbering colony, and within one hour three hundred and forty-seven persons, including Mr. Thorpe, were slaughtered. The massacre would have been complete but for the disclosure of the plot the night before by a converted Indian. A spirit of distrust and deadly hostility thenceforward prevailed; and for many years no more efforts were made by the Virginia colonists to convert the natives.

In 1735 John and Charles Wesley went to Georgia, the latter as a missionary to the Indians; but his efforts were unsuccessful. Whitefield soon followed, made an unsuccessful attempt to frame a grammar of their language, and became satisfied that his call was not to them. But the Moravians were on the ground achieving success among the Creeks. They founded a mission the same year that Sargeant went to Stockbridge.

Section 4.—Jesuit and Protestant Missions Compared.

From the first, Protestant missionaries to the Indians worked upon a plan very different from the Jesuits, involving more radical treatment and attended with greater difficulties. The Jesuits only slightly interfered with the native habits, wild ways and impulses of the savages. For the most part, the French, lay and clerical, compromised themselves and their own civilization by meeting the Indians more than half way, by living with them on easy if not equal terms, carefully avoiding any thing that might cross their inclinations or shock their prejudices. The French Jesuits did not seek to settle them in fixed residences,* to make them cleanly, and improve their dress, but shared the native wigwam and loathsome cookery, regardless of filth, vermin, and immodesty. The religion

* The Spanish Jesuits did promote local settlements of Indians; but the French encouraged their roving, hunting life, in deference to the secular interests of the French fur traders, who were eager for peltries.

they taught consisted of a few simple ritual ceremonies, the repetition of a prayer or chant, and the baptismal rite. Thus the doomed heathen was easily turned into a professed Christian and an enfranchised citizen of France. Didactic moral and intellectual training was deemed unessential. The simplest assent of a savage to a few dogmas of the Church was sufficient.* Such was their converting, Christianizing process.

Quite otherwise with Eliot and other Protestant missionaries. They aimed to establish communities of Indians in fixed settlements, exclusively their own, with changed habits of life, dependent no longer upon roaming and hunting, but pursuing industrious occupations, with lands cleared and fenced, modestly clothed, living in houses, regarding property and decency. Ultimately they were to have local magistrates, mechanics, teachers, and preachers of their own race, with all the comforts and securities of the towns of the white men, and organized and covenanted churches. Eliot wrote, "I find it absolutely necessary to carry on civility with religion."

The educational efforts of Protestantism among the Indians in this early period were very considerable, some of which have been already mentioned. But much more was done for the education of the Indian. Under the lead of the Apostle Eliot free tuition was provided for Indian children in the public schools of the Massachusetts Colony, the expense to be defrayed by a yearly contribution—voluntary, or by rate if any refused; and the order was confirmed by the general court. Eliot also planted schools among the converted Indians, and sent their brightest lads to English schools to learn Latin and Greek. The Connecticut code of 1650 ordered that the teaching elders should go among the Indians and give them religious instruction. Schools were also established among them. A very successful one, at Farmington, was taught from 1648 to 1697 by the minister of the parish, and as late as 1736 notices of this school are found in the colonial records.

In December, 1743, Rev. Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon, Conn., was induced to receive into a school which he kept in his own house Samson Occum, a Mohegan Indian, aged about nineteen. Occum was under Mr. Wheelock's tuition about five years, and subsequently became a preacher of distinction. Encouraged by this suc-

* The Jesuit Biard, in Acadia, says he was satisfied with translating into Indian "ye Lord's Prayer, ye salutation of ye Virgin, ye Commandments of God, and of ye Church, with a short explanation of ye Sacraments, and some prayers; for this is all ye theology they need."

cess Mr. Wheelock formed a plan of an Indian mission school. He thought that educated Indians would be more successful than white men, as missionaries among the red men. Gradually his plan was carried out, until, in 1762, he had more than twenty youths, chiefly Indians, under his care. Funds for their maintenance were obtained from benevolent individuals, from the legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and from the Scotch Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Joshua Moor, a farmer in Mansfield, Conn., having about the year 1754 made a donation of a house and two acres of land in Lebanon, contiguous to Mr. Wheelock's house, the institution was called "Moor's Indian Charity School." Several gentlemen were associated with Mr. Wheelock as trustees. Here Brandt the Mohawk chief received his education, and also Rev. Samuel Kirkland, an eminent missionary among the Oneidas, from 1764 to 1808. In 1765 the Scotch Society sent white missionaries and Indian school-masters to the Mohawks in New York. Occum had preceded them among the Oneidas.

In 1766 Mr. Wheelock sent Mr. Occum and Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker to Great Britain, to solicit benefactions for the school. Mr. Occum made a favorable impression. He was the first Indian preacher from America that had visited Great Britain, and he preached several hundred times to large assemblies. The king subscribed £200, Lord Dartmouth fifty guineas, and, in all, £7,000 were collected in England and more than £2,000 in Scotland. After conducting Moor's school in Lebanon, Conn., fourteen or fifteen years, Dr. Wheelock, in order to increase its usefulness, removed it to Hanover, N. H., in 1770, where it became the foundation of Dartmouth College.

Section 5.—Results.

Later results do not correspond with the noble beginnings. Before King Philip's war it was estimated that "about a fourth part of all the Indians in New England—those of Massachussetts being 3,000 of that quarter—had been more or less influenced by civilization and Christianity, and that had these been in full league with Philip the whites would have been exterminated." That terrible war very seriously affected the mission work. "After the war the stated places for Indian church settlements were reduced to four, while there were other temporary stations. There were ten stations in Plymouth Colony, the same number on the Vine-

yard, and five on Nantucket. President Mather, writing in 1687, said there were in New England 6 regular churches of baptized Indians, 18 assemblies of catechumens, 24 Indian preachers, and 4 English ministers who preached in Indian. A committee to visit Natick in 1698* reported a church there of 7 men and 3 women (Indians), a native minister ordained by Eliot, 59 native men, 51 women, and 70 children. Up to 1733, all the town officers were Indians. The place was incorporated as an English town in 1762. In 1792 there was but a single Indian family. At a local celebration, in 1846, the two hundredth anniversary of Eliot's first service, a girl of sixteen was the only known native descendant."† There were places in Massachusetts where feeble remnants of partially civilized natives remained longer than at Natick. On Martha's Vineyard some still exist.

A strange fatality has overhung the Indian races. They had been decimated by disease before the Pilgrims landed, and they have dwindled ever since, from natural causes inhering in the races, which unfriendly influences from without have accelerated. The Pequot wars, the King Philip's war, the French and Indian wars, the war of strong liquors and debauchery, the wars of rapacious greed, and—may we not add?—civilization itself have terribly wasted them. How forlorn the spectacle of these poor pensioners and vagabonds, crushed in abject abasement before the white man, taciturn, retrospective, and without heritage, name or progeny!

* Eight years after Eliot's death, at the age of 86.

† Rev. Mr. Ellis, in *Memorial History of Boston*. Vol. I, p. 274.

CHAPTER VIII.

DIVERSE CURRENTS.

SEC. 1. Inception of American Skepticism.
SEC. 2. Inception of Unitarianism.
" 3. Inception of Universalism.

AN inspection of the religious life of the colonial era reveals new currents of theological sentiment, silently but steadily setting in, at various points, against the long accepted theories. In the subsequent periods they will appear as more active assailing forces, openly antagonizing the old beliefs and seriously engaging the attention of the world.

As to their origin, they were chiefly exotic, out-growths from the modern spirit of inquiry in Europe, evoked by the revival of learning,* and the bold revolutions inaugurated by Luther and Descartes. Those great and devout minds never dreamed of the reckless extravagances which followed their action. Not contented with freedom from hierarchical and scholastic intolerance, many wild spirits broke loose from all moorings, threw overboard anchor, compass and chart, and recklessly sailed out into the stormiest seas. Investigation extended to all departments of inquiry; the metaphysics of religion became a disputed domain; errors were disclosed in natural science; skeptical criticism was fostered and incredulity was accepted as a token of superior wisdom. "Speculation glided into doubt, as all morbid conditions of the body sometimes glide into the prevailing contagion. Not a land nor a church in Western Europe was exempt from the pestilence. Theologians felt the influence, many yielding to it seemingly without consciousness." †

However varied in its minor phases, there was one point of unity in this movement—a disposition to break from the traditional theology and adopt rationalistic methods. ‡

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* The Neo-Platonic philosophy, Arianism, etc., were brought to the surface, in the Renaissance in Italy, as early as the middle of the fifteenth century.

† Bishop Burgess, in *Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England.*

‡ See *Problem of Religious Progress.* By Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D.D. Phillips & Hunt, New York City, 1881. Pp. 55–70. Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*, Vol. II. *History of the Reformation.* By Prof. Fisher, of Yale College.

Section 1.—The Inception of American Skepticism.

As early as the middle of the seventeenth century symptoms of this great revolt appeared, in the English mind, in the gradual unfolding of the principle that the natural consciousness of the Divine existence and man's conscience are all the materials necessary for the construction of a perfect religion, and that Christianity is of no value except as containing germs of this natural religion. In the course of the following century these sentiments obtained a formal recognition under the name of English deism, accompanied often with a denial of the historic verity of the Christian records and a denunciation of the Christian system as priestcraft. The history of English deism covers a period of about one hundred and seventy-five years (1625–1800) * from Herbert to Gibbon, embracing groups of essayists, poets and novelists distinguished for splendid talents and extensive acquisitions. A large portion of the English mind was tainted with these ideas, and a serious deterioration in faith and morals became apparent.

Introduced into America.

Down to the middle of the last century the common American mind had known but little of the productions of these men; only a few of the more learned or curious and some of the later emigrants. But the celebrated French and Indian war, extending through a period of nine years (1754–1763), afforded an opportunity for their inculcation. During this war American citizens were brought into close relations with English officers and soldiers who had accepted deistical sentiments. "Most of their American companions had never heard the divine origin of the Scriptures questioned, and their minds were, of course, unprovided with answers even to the most common objections. To such objections as were actually made was added the force of authority. The British officers were from *the mother country*—a phase of high import—until after the commencement of the Revolution. They came from a country renowned for arts and arms, and regarded by the people of New England as the birth-place of science and wisdom. These gentlemen were also, at the same time, possessed of engaging manners: they practiced all those genteel vices which, when recommended by such manners, generally fascinate young men of gay, ambitious minds, and are

* Herbert died 1648; Hobbes, 1679; The Earl of Shaftesbury, 1713; Toland, 1722; Mandeville, 1733; Collins, 1729; Woolston, 1733; Morgan, 1743; Tindal, 1733; Chubb, 1747; Bolingbroke, 1751; Hume, 1776; Gibbon, 1794.

often considered as conferring an enviable distinction on those who adopt them. Many of the Americans were far from being dull proficients in this school. The vices they loved, and soon found the principles necessary to quiet their consciences. When they returned home they had drunk too deeply of the cup to exchange their new principles and practices for the sober doctrines and lives of their countrymen. The means that had been pursued to corrupt them they now employed to corrupt others. From this *prima mali labes* the contagion spread, not indeed through very great multitudes, but in little circles surrounding the individuals originally infected. As these amounted to a considerable number, and lived in a general dispersion through the country, most parts of it shared in the malady." *

The period intervening between the French war and the Revolution was characterized by a perceptible relaxation of morals, and it is certain that religion suffered serious decline.

Section 2.—The Origin of American Unitarianism.

Simultaneously with these more radical departures from Christianity, as a system, there appeared a revolt against some of its vital doctrines by those who still clung to its records and institutions. Arian and Socinian sentiments had their advocates on the Continent of Europe from an early period of the Reformation,† and in England as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century.‡ In the following century they became more common. Near its close Unitarians had places of worship in London, and the great Trinitarian controversy was waged by South, Sherlock, Howe, etc.

* *Travels in New England and New York.* By Rev. Timothy Dwight, S.T.D., LL.D. Vol. IV, p. 365.

† Before 1500 Arian sentiments were revived in Italy. Among the early continental advocates of these views may be mentioned John Dork, who died 1528; Hitzer, a learned friend of Zwingle, beheaded in 1529; Servetus, burned 1553; Campanus, died in prison, at Cleves, 1578; Gentilis, a Calabrian, died 1566; Daniel Jarvis, died at Basle, 1556: Laelius Socinus, "an inquiring but skeptical man of letters," died 1562; Faustus Socinus, who organized the Unitarians in Poland and gave them a system of theology, died 1604. A printing office was established at Racon, Poland, before the close of the sixteenth century for the publication of the writings of Faustus Socinus.

‡ From 1550 to 1612 Arians and Socinians perished in the fires of Smithfield. John Biddle (1615–1652) has been styled "The father of modern Unitarianism." In 1652 copies of the Raconian catechism were burned in London. In 1655 Dr. Owen wrote, "there is not a city or town where some of this poison has not been poured forth."

The English Sources.

Unitarian sentiments invaded the English Church, and some distinguished ministers became Arians or Socinians.* Whitby, Emelyn, Whiston, Samuel Clarke, all strongly tended that way, some of them avowedly. Emelyn was a decided Arian, and advocated those views in an "Inquiry into the Character of Jesus Christ;" Whitby sifted them into his *Commentary on the New Testament;* and Clarke was an opposer of creeds, especially the Athanasian, and a decided Arian To such an extent had those views pervaded the Established Church that it was stated, in 1705, that there were "troops of Unitarian and Socinian writers, and not one dissenter could be found among them."

Natural religion was the favorite study of the English clergy and of the learned generally. While Collins and Tindall pronounced Christianity to be priestcraft, Whiston, learned, intrepid, and earnest, declared the miracles to be Jewish impositions, and Woolston called them allegories. In David Hartley these two tendencies were combined, and "the publication of his book, *Observations on Man*, based on the sensational philosophy, gave rise to a new school, of which Joseph Priestley was the head." "Of this stamp was the Unitarianism that first made its appearance in America about the middle of the last century."† Traces of it are very perceptible in the writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., of Boston, the champion of the new and then unnamed tendency in America, who held correspondence with several English writers of this class. Drs. Gay, of Hingham; Chauncy, of Boston; West, etc., etc., also patronized these productions. The high literary and scientific reputation of Clarke, Whitby, Whiston, Woolston, etc., gave their numerous writings great currency. They exerted a leading influence upon the thinking minds of that age, among whom the rising divines of New England occupied prominent positions. It will not seem strange, therefore, with these facts before us, that about the middle of the last century there was a very perceptible change in the theological opinions of some of the New England clergy. The same thing was also to some extent apparent in Virginia and New York. "The liberal theories" in philosophy and religion in Europe exerted a great influence upon many leading minds in America. They were important factors in

* Revs. Daniel Whitby, D.D., 1638–1726; Thomas Emelyn, 1663–1743; Rev. William Whiston, D.D., 1667–1752; Rev. Samuel Clarke, D.D., 1675–1729.

† *Appleton's Cyclopedia.* Article: "Unitarianism."

the development of the "Liberal Christianity," which, under various minor designations, has come down to the present time.

The American Sources.

But the origin of this defection was not altogether, nor even chiefly, foreign. The most potent and far-reaching causes were engendered in the New England mind, and hence this great departure made its first appearance in that section, while it was generally withstood elsewhere. Local causes prepared the way, but the process of development was slow. The vital and conserving elements of ecclesiastical life were gradually eliminated before the most far-sighted minds even conjectured the result. The Unitarian departure had its inception in the introduction of the famous "half-way covenant," * which was adopted in the infancy of the colonies, only forty-two years after the landing of the Pilgrims. This measure was a politico-religious expedient resorted to for the purpose of relieving themselves from embarrassments growing out of an extreme and impracticable application of Christianity to the relations of the Church and the civil power.

"The founders of the chief colonies of New England were of one heart and of one mind, and this was a source of a great error in their ecclesiastical system. They forgot that never again could the community which they founded be what it was at first; that they had collected and brought into the wilderness a peculiar people, but that they must afterward meet human nature as it arose in all its varieties. They could exclude from their communion or banish from their territory the man who would not share their faith, but they could not decide the character nor annul the birthright of the children who should succeed to their own places. The apostolical conception of the Church, as an assembly of believers received, on the profession of their faith, to the sacraments and to the fellowship of the saints, and seeking there the grace by which they might be trained for heaven, and subject to exclusion on proof of willful and persevering sin, till they should furnish the fruits of penitence, was not at all obscure or difficult. It was no objection that it might be compared with the net of a fisherman, which gathers up all alike, or with a field in which tares are nightly sown by an enemy. The settlers of New England, however, had learned to dread chiefly the ills of a church which was identical with a nation; and it was their endeavor so to fence round their own

* See Chapter IV, on Church and State; also Chapter V, on Religious Life.

that, as far as might be, it (the civil power) should embrace none but spiritual, accepted followers of the Captain of Salvation." *

It has been already observed that the early churches of New England held very strictly to the necessity of saving faith and spiritual regeneration as conditions of membership. And their religion was not a dreamy speculation, or a mere sentiment, or an abstraction, but it was carried out in concrete forms in the practical details of life. Religion was the stock upon which every thing must be ingrafted, and that which could not bear the process must be rejected. Hence we find the State growing out of the Church. Under their regimen no person could hold public office, or vote in elections, or enjoy any of the ordinary privileges of citizenship, who was not a member of the Church.

In 1633 Rev. John Cotton preached a sermon in Boston, entitled, "*A Discourse About Civil Government, in a New Plantation, whose Design is Religion.*" Its object was "to prove the expediency and necessity of intrusting free burgesses, who are members of churches, gathered amongst them according to Christ, with the power of choosing from among themselves magistrates and men to whom the managing of all public and civil affairs of importance is to be committed." This was in accordance with the general usages of the New England colonies.†

Religious ideas were carried into every thing they did. The recluses of the Middle Ages had removed religion from practical life, into caves and cloisters, but the Puritans reversed the order and carried it into the most common affairs. Thus actuated, they made the franchise of the Commonwealth dependent upon church membership, and the latter upon a genuine religious experience. A solemn form, too, was observed in the relation of religious experience before the Church, and inquiries were made into the previous conviction for sin and the radical character of the change. Thus were the membership of the Church and the franchise of the State hedged in with impressive and uncompromising religious ideas and usages.

It is not strange that in a few years this system should be felt to be unjust. Appeals were made to the Crown, petitions were sent to the General Court, and a strong agitation was carried on in the principal towns. Favorable responses were given by the En-

* Pages from the *Ecclesiastical History of New England.* A pamphlet. By Bishop Burgess. Pp. 10, 11.

† *The Ecclesiastical History of New England.* By Joseph B. Felt. Vol. I, p. 169.

glish Government, and the way was prepared for the adoption of a new measure to remedy the evil.

The Half-way Covenant.

In 1662, by the recommendation of the General Synod, the half-way covenant was introduced into the churches. This celebrated measure provided that persons baptized in infancy were to be regarded as members of the church to which their parents belonged, although they were not to be admitted to the communion without giving evidence of regeneration; and, that such persons, on arriving at maturity, "understanding the doctrine of faith and publicly professing their assent thereto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the Church wherein they give themselves up and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the Church," had a right to baptism for their children.

This was a great change; it relieved the applicant for church membership from the necessity of giving evidence of regeneration, and it compelled the Church, if it would exclude him, to convict him of heresy or of a scandalous life. The object was to confer so much of church membership as would bring men fairly within the State, and so little as would leave them short of full communion with the Church. They hoped thus to conserve both the purity of the Church and the Christianity of the State. Events have since proved that it would have been better not to have yielded any thing in respect to the membership of the Church, but for the Church to have relinquished to the State the full control of the right of suffrage. But they hoped, how vainly will hereafter appear, that such a concession would promote the spiritual welfare of their children. This measure, however, in its practical results, proved to be full of evil to the churches,* an inlet for dangerous errors and the most disastrous consequences, which spread through generations. It was the "wooden horse" admitted within the walls of Troy.

The adoption of this measure was soon followed by a very marked religious decline.† Ten years later the declension was a sub-

* The half-way covenant was not adopted by all the churches at once. Some delayed many years, a few more than thirty years, and there was much strife and debate over it. The writings of those who favored the action of the Synod were called *Synodalia*, and of those opposed, *Anti-Synodalia*. The Old South Church, Boston, sprung into being out of this division, being an off-shoot of the first Church, a majority of which opposed the Synod. This majority formed the Old South. In Connecticut the opposition was more extensive. In the New Haven colony it was general. In 1664 the General Court of Connecticut seeing no movement toward adopting the action of the Synod, took the matter in hand and urged its acceptance.

† See Chapter V, Religious Life, Section 2.

ject of frequent remark and was deeply deplored by many. The published sermons, ecclesiastical reports, and other religious literature of the next seventy years in New England are full of confessions, lamentations, and pungent appeals on account of the low state of the churches and the increase of immorality, in striking contrast with the first forty years of their history. It has been already noticed that during the seventy-three years following the adoption of this measure, down to the great Edwardsian revival, the average condition of the churches was very low.

Another Departure.

Forty-five years later another departure still more seriously aggravated the downward tendency, and the predecessor of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, at Northampton, was the innovator. Rev. Timothy Dwight has said of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, that "he probably possessed more influence than any other clergyman in the province during a period of thirty years."* In 1707 Mr. Stoddard preached that "sanctification is not a necessary quailfication for partaking of the Lord's Supper," that "the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance," "a means of regeneration," and, therefore, "unrenewed persons ought to be permitted to partake of it as a means of procuring that desirable change." He contended that it was "especially important, since it is impossible to distinguish the regenerate from the unregenerate so as to admit only the former and exclude only the latter." To this sermon Dr. Increase Mather replied the following year, and in 1709 Mr. Stoddard rejoined. After strenuous opposition the new view prevailed in Northampton, and quite extensively in other parts of New England, and thenceforth persons who had been baptized in infancy, not convicted of "scandalous conduct or of heresy" were in full communion in the Church.

Religious experience, being no longer a test of Church membership, disappeared from the pulpits as a theme of discourse, and the ministry—as well as the churches—was filled with unregenerate men. The cognate doctrines were also set aside, and moralizing and speculation constituted the topic of pulpit ministrations. Church discipline, too, was relaxed, for unregenerate men would not call others to an account. Laxity of belief and morals prevailed, creeds and confession of faith were discarded, and candidates for the ministry often refused to answer inquiries in regard to both faith and experience. In the "Convention Sermon" in 1722, Rev. Cotton Mather

* *Travels in New England.* Vol. I, p. 333.

lamented "the threatened banishment from the ministry of the truths which all real and vital piety lives upon." Thus was a state of things currently called "dead orthodoxy" developed, in which truth had little hold on the conscience, and many abandoned themselves to frivolity and corrupt practices.

In the meantime New England thinkers were drawn into sympathy with English non-conformists, and English literature was infiltrated through the compact structure of New England social and religious life. The great Trinitarian controversy of South, Sherlock, etc., was studied in Boston scarcely less than in London. The subsequent writings of Emelyn, Whiston, Dr. Samuel Clarke, etc., found ready readers in New England. About 1720 Cotton Mather wrote of "the most grievous apostasy of so many of our English brethren, going off to Arianism, Gentileism, etc., and the Laodicean temper of many more who have withheld the testimonies which the laboring truth has called for."

While this great spiritual declension was going on, God was preparing on both sides of the Atlantic great counter movements for the preservation of spiritual Christianity—the Methodistic revival in England, and the Edwardsian revival in New England—the latter accomplishing a great, though temporary, work, to be supplemented in due time, and carried steadily forward, by the introduction of Methodism.

The Great Revival.

In Chapter V the revival under Edwards and Whitefield was sketched. The revival brought into new prominence the subject of Christian experience and the doctrine of the insufficiency of works done without grace as a fitness for heaven. Wherever, therefore, it went, it awakened opposition, chiefly in the churches and the ministers favoring the "liberal" tendencies. Whitefield's first visit to the Puritan metropolis was warmly welcomed, and multitudes waited with deepest interest upon his powerful ministrations. Within two years he was followed by Revs. Gilbert Tennent, Wheelock and Davenport, who visited Boston and other New England towns. Tennent was bold and unsparing, producing "a wide and tumultuous swell of religious emotion," under the influence of which many professed conversion, and "towns were invested with a new aspect." Davenport "was not afraid to pronounce publicly the names of unconverted ministers," and every Congregational pulpit in Boston was soon closed against him. Whitefield and Tennent had also "disowned the prevailing rever-

ence for authorities," and had quite distinctly intimated their opinions of the spiritual state of many of the clergy. Whitefield pronounced the college at Cambridge to be, "as far as he could gather, not far superior to the English universities in piety and true godliness." A tide of censorious enthusiasm set in and seriously marred the revival work; but it grew out of the stern resistance which spiritual religion every-where met—often the effect, and perhaps as often the cause of the opposition.

Amid the prevailing excitement in 1743 a convention was held, soon followed by another. In the first a "Testimony" was drawn up against the new movements, which was sustained by a majority of thirty-eight. The minority called the second convention and put forth a cautious and discriminating paper—decided and solemn—warning the people against being drawn into Arminianism and Antinomianism through fear of the opposite errors. The latter paper received the signatures of one hundred and twenty ministers in New England. About half of the one hundred and seventy-five Congregational ministers in Massachusetts were opposers of the revival measures. This was the first marked division of the two parties in the New England churches.

When Whitefield returned in 1744 he encountered a wide-spread prejudice, entire Associations declining to receive him to their pulpits. Coleman, of the Brattle Street Church, invited him to assist in the administration of the Lord's Supper, contrary to the remonstrance of his ministerial brethren. Chauncy and others preached against him, and did not hesitate to characterize the revival as an unmixed evil. The faculties of Yale and Harvard colleges entered the lists against him. Counter statements also appeared.

The exciting point of this conflict was the question of "a change of heart." The old doctrine of the fathers had declined and the churches were dead. They were filled with men who had never been regenerated, who, according to the new theology, were to be regarded as Christians needing instruction; but, according to the revivalists, they were impenitent persons, enemies to God, far from righteousness, and must be converted or perish forever. Such preaching, as might be expected, provoked resistance, and nowhere more than in the churches. The "New Lights," as the revivalists were called, were accused of censoriousness and extravagances. Edwards went on, however, and attempted to fully revolutionize the system which had been introduced by his predecessor, wrote a treatise upon it, and would not practice it. In a sharp contest which finally arose upon it in his parish he was dismissed, in 1750. But

the friends of the revival generally adopted his theory, and the system of Stoddard gradually fell into disuse in those churches which did not subsequently become Unitarian. Those who rejected the views of Edwards continued to admit men to the communion without regeneration if moral in life.

The remaining steps of the transition were easy and natural. Thus were the leading elements of the so-called "Liberal Christianity" engendered long before the formal separation took place. Such were the local causes in the New England churches which conspired with the latitudinarianism of the English mind to produce the great defection which has been so marked in more recent times. The change that had been going on before the "Great Awakening" was hastened* by it. Calvinism† was fading, and men were becoming accustomed to the charge of "Arminianism,"‡ and a word of more radical significance—Socinianism—was brought into use.

"Thus," says Mr. William C. Gannett, "the first stage in the rise of Unitarianism was completed so far as this, that now Arminianism, or anti-Calvinism, was an established fact in Massachusetts. The change toward Rationalism had been long and gradual—first crumbling away certain Church rites, then silently affecting doctrine, till toward the middle of the century, when it grew yearly into clearer recognition. The new name, however, was very vaguely used. . . . No split in the church was thought of yet. But from this time forward the two parties constantly and consciously diverged and watched each other."§

Extent of the Movement in the Middle of the last Century.

Having traced the inception and progress of this defection down to the middle of the last century, it is desirable to briefly set forth its proportions and its character in the period intervening before the Revolution.

A considerable number of distinguished and very excellent ministers who did not favor the movements of the "New Lights" were,

* In 1750 Edwards said, rife as the dangerous doctrines were before the revival, "Within seven years (that is, from its crisis) they have made vastly greater progress than ever before in the like space."

† Some New Hampshire ministers revised the *Catechism* by leaving Calvinism out of it.

‡ Really Pelagianism. They evidently did not use the word Arminian in its strict historical sense. They meant by it a system of doctrine in opposition to Calvinism, without due discrimination in regard to all the phases of the case. The new departure then going on was, indeed, a revolt against Calvinism; but, more than that, it was also a revolt against the Trinitarian and sacrificial theology to which Arminius and his followers closely adhered.

§ Lecture on the rise of Unitarianism in New England. *Index*, Feb. 15, 1873.

nevertheless, still faithful in their adherence to the old Calvinistic theology. One * every way qualified to speak upon this matter has expressed the opinion that there were in 1750 not less than forty-six ministers who either "openly opposed or did not teach and advocate the Calvinistic doctrines, and whose orthodoxy was either denied or suspected."

President John Adams,† writing May 15, 1815, said, "Sixty years ago (1755) my own minister, Rev. Lemuel Bryant, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, of the West Church, Boston; Rev. Mr. Shute, of Hingham; Rev. John Brown, of Cohassett; and, perhaps equal to all, if not above all, Rev. Dr. Gay, of Hingham, were Unitarians. . . . Among the laity how many could I name, lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, farmers."

In 1754 Whitefield was again in Boston, but his advent awakened no enthusiasm. The spirit of freedom of inquiry so rife in England was the burden of the leading minds. Under this broad and specious shield doubt found ample shelter, and slyly pushed its attacks upon the citadel of faith. Creeds and confessions were abhorred and freely denounced in sermons, particularly on ordination occasions. Mayhew called the Athanasian creed "a riddle, still somewhat enigmatical, notwithstanding all the labors of the pious and metaphysical Waterland," and jested on the Canticles. A little later, in 1769, Rev. John Lathrop declared to a friend that creeds and confessions had been generally laid aside, and that it was impossible to get a vote in the Convention for their revival. In 1756 Emelyns's *Inquiry into the Scriptural Account of Jesus Christ* was republished in Boston at the suggestion, it is said, of Dr. Mayhew, to which President Burr, of Princeton, replied. In 1768 Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D.,‡ preached a sermon in the Old South Church, Boston, on the Divinity of Christ, which was composed for that occasion, as he said, "Under the conviction that the doctrine was

* Hon. Alden Bradford, LL.D., biographer of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., was personally acquainted with Drs. Gay, Chauncy, Cooper, Shute, Turner, West and other prominent actors in this movement. He mentions in this class (*Memoir of Mayhew*, p. 24), Revs. Nathaniel Appleton, D.D., of Cambridge; Ebenezer Gay, D.D., of Hingham; Charles Chauncy, D.D., of Boston; William Rand, of Kingston; Nathaniel Ellis, of Scituate; Edward Barnard, of Haverhill: Samuel Cooke, of West Cambridge; Jeremiah Fogg, of Kensington, N. H.; Andrew Elliot, D.D., of Boston; Samuel Webster, D.D., of Salisbury; Lemuel Bryant, of Braintree; —— Stevens, D.D., of Kittery, Me.; —— Tucker, D.D., of Newbury; Timothy Harrington, of Lancaster; Jonathan Mayhew, of Boston, and nineteen others. A little later he speaks of twelve others, making forty-six in all. Some of them, however, as in the case of Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge, did not finally go over to this party, and have been ranked with the "Orthodox" portion, although they had been at times somewhat shaken by the prevailing tendencies.

† Letter to Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, of Charlestown, Mass.

‡ *Autobiographical Sketches of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D.*, p. 95.

much neglected, if not disbelieved, by a number of the ministers in Boston."

A few of the leading minds of this period deserve more extended notice:

Dr. Gay was the pastor of the church in Hingham, a town about fifteen miles from Boston, for a period of seventy years (1717–1787). He was an intimate friend of Chauncy and Mayhew. Dr. Bradford thinks that Dr. Mayhew was indebted to him for some of his "liberal and rational views." He was a man of consummate prudence, especially in expressing his opinions publicly. Hon. Solomon Lincoln says, "By some who fully understood the position of Dr. Gay, after the middle of the last century, he has been claimed to have been the father of modern Unitarianism. This must be conceded—that his discourses will be searched in vain, after that point of time, for any discussions of controversial theology, any advocacy of the peculiar doctrines regarded as orthodox, or the expression of any opinions at variance with those of his distinguished successor in the same pulpit, the Rev. Dr. Henry Ware."*

Dr. Chauncy was the pastor of the First Church, Boston, sixty years (1727–1787). In him were singularly combined great frankness, courage and prudence, with a mind remarkably acute and vigorous. He was not an orator, but he wrote with transparent clearness and extraordinary facility, and published more volumes than any other New England minister of his time, although none of them were very extensive or elaborate. He employed vigorous arguments with exceptional ability, writing against Whitefield and the revivalists, and resisting their measures for promoting the spirituality of the churches with all his might. He was also a strenuous opponent of episcopacy. It has been said, "To him, among all the eminent divines of New England, belongs the unhappy pre-eminence of having been the first to take the spirit of doubt to his bosom," that he "questioned the consciousness of the soul between death and the resurrection," and that he "nourished that sarcastic hostility to the sentiments of past ages, and the determination of venerable bodies on doctrines which, like a light troop of scouts, precede the main assault and explore the danger. Deeply significant was his sneer against the 'Homoousianity' of the Nicene Council."†

Dr. Mayhew was pastor of the West Church, Boston, from 1747 to 1766. Younger than Gay and Chauncy, and shorter lived, he ran

* Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit. The Unitarian Pulpit*, p. 7.

† Pages from the *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, p. 25.

a more brilliant career. He was a man of great talents, of extensive learning, of remarkable frankness and boldness, somewhat eccentric, and sometimes rash and impetuous. The most open and undisguised of all the clergymen referred to in opposing the prevailing system of theology, he became the champion of the "liberal" tendency in his day. He was the third in a line of ministers, the Mayhews of Martha's Vineyard, who labored for the conversion of the Indians upon that island. His father, Rev. Experience Mayhew, A.M., is described as a man of great independence and vigor of mind, writing against the extreme Calvinistic tenets in a volume entitled *Grace Defended*, and also conducting a controversy with Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, President of Princeton College, New Jersey, against necessity.

Jonathan Mayhew was regarded as unsound in his theological opinions at the time of his settlement, on which account some of his ministerial brethren refused to participate in the services of that occasion. Dr. Bradford says, "He early gave his views on most of the doctrines then called orthodox, and expressed his opinions with unwonted clearness and decision.* He was accustomed to speak out his sentiments freely, and did not hesitate to ridicule many things which had long been held as sacred by the Church. It was to him, doubtless, that Bellamy referred when he said, "Come from New Hampshire along to Boston, and see there a celebrated doctor of divinity at the head of a large party! He boldly ridicules the doctrine of the Trinity, and denies the doctrine of justification by faith alone, in the sight of all the country in his *Book of Sermons.*"

He was a man of extensive personal acquaintance, numbering among his intimate friends Hons. John Hancock, John Winthrop, for forty-one years Professor in Harvard College; Stephen Sewall, Chief Justice of Massachusetts; Samuel Adams, James Otis, James Bowdoin, Rev. Oxenbridge Thatcher, Robert Treat Paine, John Adams, Samuel Dexter, Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, D.D., of Cambridge, and many others. Among his correspondents in Great Britain were such names as Lardner, Benson, Kippis, Blackburne and Hollis. In this wide circle Dr. Mayhew exerted a powerful influence, contributing more than any other American clergyman in his lifetime to spread "liberal sentiments." His enthusiastic biographer says, "By the influence of his elevated theological views a new era commenced in the Christian Church among the descendants of the Puritans. And from his day men have no longer

* *Memoir*, p. 25.

been obliged to discard reason to be religious, either as to their belief or practice." *

Dr. Bradford also sheds some light upon

THE CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT.

He says that at this early period "It was not wanton nor extravagant," although it was strong and decided. It did not boldly assert itself, except in opposition to Whitefield, yet it was quietly working. The more liberal clergy of that period "bowed as reverently as ever before the majesty of divine truth, accepting and advocating zealously and ably the moral government of God, his overruling providence, and many other cardinal doctrines, while they either denied or doubted the Trinity, total depravity, personal election and reprobation irrespective of moral character, miraculous and instantaneous conversion, the inability of man to become religious without special and irresistible grace," etc.

As yet only "a few had either expressly denied or openly opposed these doctrines." "But many refrained from inculcating them, without denying man's moral freedom or accountability, or endeavoring to show that the trinitarian tenet, as they held it, was not inconsistent with the doctrine of the divine unity. These were called "Arminians," or "moderate Calvinists," and "Arians," or "semi-Arians," as they deviated more or less from the orthodox or Calvinistic creed. The doctrine of the Trinity was approached with caution and reluctance, for most considered it of difficult interpretation, and as involved in mystery which could not be fully explained or comprehended, and had, therefore, better not be discussed; and thus they contented themselves with the phraseology of the Scriptures on the subject. That of total depravity, and others flowing from it or connected with it were more openly opposed." †

The controversy in regard to the Trinity came on at a later period. It was not openly debated until the beginning of the present century. So great was the impulse given to the new theological tendencies by the spirit of freedom in inquiry which pervaded the literary circles of England, and also by the bold and able leadership of Mayhew, that it has been said that the rupture in the New England churches would have occurred thirty or forty years earlier than it did had not the exciting topics of the Revolutionary period engrossed the attention of the people.

* *Memoir*. Preface, p. 1.

† *Memoir of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D.* By Alden Bradford, LL.D. Boston, C. C. Little & Co., 1838. P. 23.

Section 3.—Inception of Universalism.

At the same time that the leaven of Unitarianism was silently working, another, and, in some respects, very similar movement was going on, which was also destined, in due time, to attract attention.

The origin of Universalism in America has generally been traced to Rev. John Murray, who landed in this country in 1770. But a careful observation of the field, both in Europe and America, will afford evidence, as early as the middle of the last century, of the existence of tendencies, entirely independent of any influence which Mr. Murray exerted, toward the adoption, in some form, of the doctrine of the final salvation of all men. It was a revulsion from the old and repulsive dogmas of "High Calvinism." The writings of Siegvolck, Whitby, Law, and other European authors abound in traces of that sentiment. In 1741 Dr. George De Benneville, a refugee from persecution in Europe, appeared in Germantown, Pa., and became extensively and favorably known as a skillful physician and a lay preacher. Occasionally, for many years, he made extensive tours through Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, preaching the doctrine of the final restoration of all men to holiness and happiness. In 1753 an edition of Paul Siegvolck's *Everlasting Gospel* was published in Germantown, in which the doctrine of restorationism was inculcated. In this place there was a society of German Baptists, descendants from the Anabaptists of Germany, who held those sentiments. Rev. Philip Clarke, rector of St. Philip's Church, Charleston, S. C., 1754–1759, was a believer in the doctrine of universal salvation. It was not an uncommon thing for this doctrine to be preached by the Virginia clergy about the middle of the last century. Rev. Mr. Yancy, of Louisa, published a sermon on the subject, and Rev. Mr. Talley, of Gloucester, Va., also inculcated it.*

In the old churches of New England the same tendency existed. Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., of Boston (1747–1766) preached the doctrine of the final restoration of all men to holiness and happiness.† Rev. Charles Chauncy, D.D., of Boston (1727–1787), wrote a book entitled, *The Mystery Hid from Ages; or, the Salvation of All Men the Grand Thing Aimed at in the Scheme of God*, in which the doctrine of restorationism was advocated. It was not published until 1784, but it was written more than twenty years before, and shows the tendency of religious inquiry in the middle of the

* *Old Families, Ministers, and Churches of Virginia.* By Bishop William Meade. Vol. I, p. 183.

† See Sermon on "The Goodness of God," published in 1762.

century. The delay in the publication of the volume has been attributed to the extreme cautiousness of Dr. Chauncy.*

Rev. Joseph Huntington, D.D.,

of Coventry, Conn. (1763–1794), a clergyman in the Congregational Church, is another striking example of this tendency. According to Rev. Abiel Abbott, D.D., he was one of the most popular preachers of his day, a man of superior talents, a laborious student, and at one time a candidate for the presidency of Dartmouth College. During his lifetime he sometimes introduced in public and private discourses inquiries in reference to the final salvation of all men; but at his death a manuscript volume,† entitled *Calvinism Improved*, was found among his papers, containing a vigorous defense of the doctrine of the salvation of all men in the article of death. In the preface the author says that this volume was "a small part of a system of divinity which he had been meditating for more than twenty years," showing that as early as about 1770, his mind had adopted those views.

Drs. Huntington and Chauncy agreed in recognizing the literal resurrection of the body and the future general judgment. Dr. Huntington denied all future misery, but Dr. Chauncy held to future punishment, in its strict penal form, "for ages of ages," in a local hell and in literal fire. The latter wholly revolted from the old doctrine of predestination, but the former construed it so as to embrace all men among the elect. Dr. Chauncy held to Arian views of depravity and atonement, but Dr. Huntington accepted the "evangelical" doctrines, except in regard to the salvation of all men.

Three Other Preachers of Universalism

appeared before the American public about the time of Mr. Murray—Revs. Adam Streeter, Caleb Rich, and Thomas Barnes. Mr.

* Dr. Bradford in his *Memoir of Mayhew*, said: "When Dr. Chauncy had written on the final salvation of all men, which he chose not to publish for many years after the work was prepared for the press, he showed it to Dr. Gay and a few other particular friends. Dr. Gay inquired if Dr. Mayhew had seen it. "No," said Dr. Chauncy; "he cannot keep a secret. I am not yet ready to determine to publish it; but if he sees it, such is his frankness that all the world will soon know it."

† This volume was published in accordance with Mr. Huntington's will, in 1796, in New London, Conn., by Samuel Green (8vo). "It had but a limited circulation, much the greater part of the edition being consigned to the flames by one of his daughters, a lady of rare excellence, who loved simple Calvinism better than Calvinism Improved, and whose regard for orthodoxy seems to have been an overmatch for her filial reverence." See *Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit*. Vol. I, p. 604.

In 1796 Rev. Nathan Strong, D.D., pastor of the Congregational church in Hartford, Conn., replied to Dr. Huntington's volume, in a 12mo book of 408 pages.

Streeter was an ordained minister of the Baptist denomination, and on becoming a Universalist he proclaimed his new opinions very freely in various parts of New England. He died in Smithfield, R. I., September 22, 1786. Mr. Rich joined the Baptist church in Warwick, N. H., in 1771, but soon became a Universalist, and preached those doctrines for many years. Mr. Barnes was an early convert of Mr. Rich, and subsequently became the founder of Universalism in Maine. These three preachers had never seen or heard of Rev. John Murray when they adopted these views.

Such were some of the first outcroppings of a revulsion from Calvinism,* which soon became more general. In the Congregational churches the revolt was in the direction of Unitarian and Universalist ideas; in the Regular Baptist Church it took two directions—toward Universalism and the Free-Will Baptist movement, the latter denomination having its origin in 1780, in the midst of this revulsion.

In 1770 Mr. Murray landed in this country and immediately made the doctrine of the final salvation of all men the special topic of his preaching, traveling extensively and organizing those who accepted these views. He thus gave to them the form of a denomination and acquired the title of the founder of Universalism.

*All of the first preachers of Universalism were of Calvinistic antecedents. Murray himself was a *Calvinistic Methodist*, of the school of Whitefield and Lady Huntington, and so was Rev. Thomas Jones, his successor, in Gloucester, Mass. Messrs. Streeter, Rich and Elhanan Winchester were Regular Baptists. In later periods, Rev. Hosea Ballou, and his nephew, Hosea Ballou, second, D.D., Adin Ballou, Walter Balfour, Sylvanus Cobb, D.D., Abner Kneeland, and many others were Baptists, reared under strong Calvinistic influences.

CHAPTER IX.

MORALS.

SEC. 1. The Drinking Habits.
" 2. Sabbath Observance.
" 3. Unchastity, Lotteries.
" 4. Superstitions.
SEC. 5. Indentured Servitude.
" 6. African Slavery.
" 7. Anti-Slavery.

WE have noticed the influence of the licentious and debauched court of Charles II. among English people at home and abroad, and the infusion into the colonial population of new classes of immigrants, not actuated, like the first settlers, by high religious motives, but chiefly by secular aims, and also paupers and criminals from work-houses and jails. The corruption of manners, working downward through English society during the reigns of William III., Queen Anne and the first two Georges, extended to American shores, changing the moral aspects of the people. In the first third of the eighteenth century this deterioration was very apparent.

Section 1.—The Drinking Habits

in the first century were very moderate. Subsequently they were intensified, though they did not reach their greatest virulence until the opening of the nineteenth century. West India rum was introduced in connection with the trade with those islands; but the manufacture of rum in New England in 1700, reducing the price, led to its more general use. In the period preceding the Edwardian revival there was much hard drinking; but darker days followed.

"It is easy to praise the fathers of New England," says Theodore Parker; "easier to praise them for virtues they did not possess than to discriminate and fairly judge those remarkable men. . . . Let me mention a fact or two. It is recorded in the probate office that in 1678, at the funeral of Mrs. Mary Norton, widow of the celebrated John Norton, one of the ministers of the First Church, in Boston, fifty-one gallons and a half of the best Malaga wine were consumed by the mourners. In 1685, at the funeral of Rev. Thomas Cobbett, minister of Ipswich, there were consumed one barrel of wine and two barrels of cider; and, 'as it was cold,'

there were 'some spice and ginger for the cider.' You may easily judge of the drunkenness and riot on occasions less solemn than the funeral of an old beloved minister. Towns provided intoxicating drinks at the funeral of their paupers. In Salem, in 1728, at the funeral of a pauper, a gallon of wine and another of cider are charged as 'incidentals;' the next year six gallons of wine on a similar occasion. In Lynn, in 1711, the town furnished 'half a barrel of cider for the widow Despau's funeral.' Affairs had come to such a pass that in 1742 the General Court forbade the use of wine and rum at funerals."*

Among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who settled in Londonderry, N. H., about 1719, drinking habits became quite as bad as in other localities. In allusion to their inflexible adherence to their creed, and their social irregularities on festive occasions, it was commonly said, "The Derry Presbyterians never gave up 'a *pint* of doctrine' or a *pint* of rum." The "Derry Festival," introduced and kept up for many years, was "a sort of Protestant carnival," "a wild, drinking, horse-racing, frolicking merry-making, at which strong drink abounded." Those who good-naturedly wrestled and joked in the morning not infrequently closed the day with a fight. William Stack, in describing his ancestors, the first settlers of Amoskeag Falls, says:

> Of the goodly men of old Derryfield,
> It was often said that their only care,
> And their only wish and their only prayer,
> For the present world and the world to come,
> Was a string of eels and a jug of rum.

Rev. Mr. Wildman, of Southbury, Conn., was accustomed to sharp sparring with Rev. Dr. Bellamy, of Bethlehem. One day Mr. Wildman asked Dr. Bellamy what to do to get the people out to meeting: "Put a barrel of rum under your pulpit," said Bellamy. "I am afraid I should have half of the church of Bethlehem down here on Sunday," replied Wildman. An old minister, in a fast day sermon in 1775, said:

> Vast numbers, young and old, male and female, are given to intemperance, so that it is a common thing to see drunken women as well as drunken men, and I fear that many of our youth are training up for rank drunkards.

The Consistory of Schenectady supplied their *dominie* liberally with wood, the parishioners making "a bee," on the occasion of cutting it up, which sometimes lasted two or three days. The old church records (January 16, 1748) show a charge for "five gallons of rum and a half gallon of wine for the *Dominie's* bee." These charges

* *Speeches, Addresses and Occasional Sermons*, by Theodore Parker, pp. 341–397. Boston, Horace B. Fuller, publisher. 1871.

are repeated year after year. On funeral occasions no woman attended the body to the grave, but after the corpse was carried out they remained to eat cakes and drink spiced wine. The women retired before the men returned, who resumed the feast and regaled themselves. Spiced wine, cakes and pies were provided, and wine and cakes were sent to the friends of the family. Wealthy citizens, in anticipation of a death in the family, were accustomed to procure a cask of wine during their lifetime and preserve it for this purpose. Whole pipes of wine and several hogsheads of beer were consumed at single funerals in New York. In Pennsylvania punch and cake in large quantities were provided on such occasions. The cost of wine for one funeral in Virginia exceeded 4,000 pounds of tobacco. These customs extended as far south as the Carolinas, and the dissipation was so great that here and there individuals protested against it.

The drinking habits of all classes, ministers included, hung like a dead-weight upon the churches. Ordinations were seasons of festivity in which copious drinking had a large share, and an ordination ball often ended the occasion. Not very far from the period of the Revolution, several councils were held in one of the towns of Massachusetts where the people were trying to be rid of a minister who was often the worse for liquor even in the pulpit, and once at least at the communion table; but some of the neighboring ministers stood by him, and the people had to endure him till his death.*

Section 2.—Sabbath Observance.

In the first century of colonial history the Sabbath laws were very stringent, many of which have reached our day and are so familiar that it is not necessary to relate them. There were also, for a time, many peculiarly strict customs of Sabbath observance in most of the colonies. In New England the Sabbath began at sunset on Saturday, but labor usually ceased about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the time was generally spent in catechizing and preparing for the Sabbath. Little food was cooked on the Lord's day and no labor but the most necessary was done. A lunch of plain bread was the mid-day repast at the church on Sunday. But after the long day, two long walks to and from the sanctuary, and two long services, a more carefully prepared meal was deemed necessary.

* Centennial Discourse by Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D.D. 1876. *Minutes of General Association of Massachusetts*, 1876, p. 42.

When the master of a Dutch ship sailed into Boston Harbor, on Sunday, and fired four shots, he was fined forty shillings a shot. When it was found that none of his crew could speak English the penalty was remitted to forty shillings in all. The Indians hardly knew what to make of the Sunday laws, and when asked if they would refrain from working on the Sabbath in Christian towns they answered, "It is very easy for us; we have not much to do any day, and we can well rest on that day." The punishment for violating the Sabbath was usually a fine of thirty shillings and to sit one hour in the stocks.

An ancient document written in Danvers, Mass., in 1713, gives an interesting case of Sabbath scruples, which were strangely common in those days:

When ye services at ye house were ended, ye Council and other dignitaries were entertained at ye House of Mr. Epes, on the hill near by, and we had a bountiful table, with Bear's meat and venison, the last of which was from a fine Buck shot in the woods near by. Ye bear was killed in Lynn Woods near Reading. After ye blessing was craved by Mr. Garrish, of Wentham, word came that ye Buck was shot on ye Lord's day by Pequot, an Indian. Like Ananias of old, ye council, therefore, refused to eat of ye venison, but it was afterward agreed that Pequot should receive 40 stripes save one for lying and profaning the Lord's day, restore Mr. Epes the cost of ye deer; and considering this a just and righteous sentence on ye sinful Heathen, and that a blessing had been craved on ye meat, ye council all partook of it but Mr. Shepard, whose conscience was tender on ye point of venison.

Work and recreation were forbidden on Thanksgiving and Fast days. Sabbath observance was under strict surveillance, and any one had a right to stop a traveler on the Sabbath. After bells came into use, the church bell, which on other evenings was rung at nine o'clock, was rung on Saturday evenings at eight o'clock, and persons out after that hour were liable to be arrested for Sabbath desecration.

The reaction in morals after the great revival under Edwards has been mentioned. But before that awakening a strong and general downward tendency was very apparent, and the revival only slightly and temporarily checked it. Edwards, referring to the previous period, said, "The Sabbath was extensively profaned and the decorum of the sanctuary not unfrequently disturbed." In the Province of Maryland, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Lord's day was generally profaned. In New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia the Sabbath was more seriously disregarded than in New England.

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Attendance Upon Public Worship

was rigidly enforced at first in the middle colonies, as well as in New England, the local laws being based upon current English statutes.

The difference between the legislation of Massachusetts and England in this respect is illustrated by the statute of 1692, compared with that of the "1st Eliz.," in England. By the first of these a man absenting himself from public worship on the Lord's day for a month was liable to a fine, to be imposed by the civil court. By that of Elizabeth he was forbidden to absent himself from church, "on pain of punishment by the *censures of the Church*, and *also* on pain of forfeiting" a certain sum of money. One was an injury and dishonor to the Church, which the State punished conjointly with the Church; the other was a violation of a State law, of which the State, by its officers, alone took cognizance.

Very few were excused from attendance upon church. The family went to church "bodily," though one or more remained at home—the very aged and infirm, the sick and those caring for them, and not unfrequently some younger and active member, to see that the premises were protected, that the cattle and other animals did not break away nor harm growing crops. The stay-at-homes were few. Absentees from the sanctuary were looked after. In some sections officers were appointed, each of whom had the inspection of ten families, to see that every one went to church. Sometimes two officials walked the fields in search of non-worshipers, who, if unable to give a satisfactory account of themselves, were reported to the magistrates. In the early part of the seventeenth century attendance upon public worship was so rigidly enforced, that persons standing outside of the "meeting-house" during divine service were set in the stocks. Inn-keepers were obliged to clear their houses of all persons able to go to meeting, excepting strangers in town. All absentees without good excuse were fined. During the eighteenth century these customs lost much of their rigidity, especially in the larger towns and the new settlements.

In comparing church attendance in these early times with that of the present day, as indicating the relative condition of morals in the two periods, it should not be overlooked that the attendance in our days is purely voluntary, and, therefore, a moral act; but in the olden times it was enforced under heavy penalties, and consequently largely void of moral qualities. As late as 1740–1750, persons in Boston were fined for non-attendance upon public worship. This law continued on the statute-book of Massachusetts as late as 1820, and the habit of church attendance which had been inwrought in the communities by such

protracted discipline conserved attendance upon worship long after the statute ceased to be enforced. It was, probably, not enforced after 1775, and very much neglected in large areas after 1750.

In the year 1776 there were 353* churches of all denominations in Massachusetts, in a population of 295,080, or one church for 835 inhabitants. In 1876 there were 1,884 churches, or one for 876 persons. But the churches of our day are, as a whole, several times larger than those of the former period. As to the apparent emptiness of the churches in these days, to which there is frequent allusion, it is a just query whether, if the audiences of 1776 were put into the churches of our day, there would not be as much empty space. And yet their churches were, relatively to the population, as numerous as ours. Such discrimination is necessary in forming a judgment in regard to church attendance in the two periods.

Section 3.—Unchastity—Lotteries.

The character of the early settlers and their first descendants in respect to chastity has doubtless been greatly overrated. We find Jonathan Edwards describing the moral condition of Northampton, Mass., near the beginning of his ministry in that place, saying that "licentiousness for some years has greatly prevailed among the youth." This is believed to have been a fair sample of many New England towns; while the average morality in Maryland, Virginia, and some other sections, was even lower, not having so many conserving elements as New England. The clergy of the Virginia Colony, following the style of many in England, were morally low, and the people lower still. Bishop Meade said, "As to the unworthy hireling clergy of the colony, there was no ecclesiastical discipline to correct or punish their irregularities and vices." In the Province of Maryland, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century also, "all notorious vices were committed, so that it had become a Sodom of uncleanliness and a pest-house of iniquity." "The clergy were remarkable for their laxity of morals and scandalous behavior." In the forty years following the establishment of the Episcopal Church, as the State Church, in Maryland, in 1692, there was no improvement, but rather a decline, as letters to the Bishop of London, quoted by Rev. Dr. Hawks, fully show.

* Congregational, 289; Baptist, 38; Episcopal, 12; Quaker, 10; Presbyterian, 4.

The Consociation of Litchfield County, Conn., in its address to the churches in 1752, deplored the low state of religion and morals, the want of family government, the neglect of family prayer, the profanation of the Sabbath, intemperance, licentiousness, rioting, wantoning, cheating, extortion, etc., which like a deluge overflowed the land. It called upon the churches to stop the abominations committed on ordination occasions, in the form of ordination balls, "frolicking at ordinations," etc.

In other respects the morals in the churches were low. "A sentence," says Dr. I. N. Tarbox, "from the Andover *Manual*, (Mass.,) shows the real condition of the churches in the last century. We are told, as part of the history of that Church, that 'the chief causes of discipline, for 125 years, were fornication and drunkenness.' And the writer adds, 'He who investigates the records of this or any other church for the same period will be astonished at the prevalence of these vices as compared with the present time.' To find such items, however, we must, as a general rule, go to those records which yet remain in manuscript."

The historian of a small town within twenty miles of Boston said, "I carefully examined the records of the parish church and found numerous instances of discipline on account of maternity too soon after matrimony. The usual course of discipline in the church was to require such persons to make a confession, before again receiving the communion. There were twenty-six cases in twelve years in that church." Such offenses were generally more common then than now, as might be demonstrated by the citation of numerous testimonies.

The mode of courtship known as "bundling" or "tarrying" then prevalent in certain portions of New England, and which delicacy forbids us to explain, doubtless promoted unchastity. It was brought over by some of the early emigrants, and strangely flourised side by side with Puritan morals through a considerable part of the colonial era. Such is the power of traditional custom. Rev. Jonathan Edwards boldly assailed it and met formidable opposition among his people. Besides the Connecticut valley, it prevailed in Pennsylvania among people of English and German extract, and in some sea-coast towns.

Lotteries.

It is difficult to realize that this form of gambling, now so strongly disapproved and so rapidly passing away under the ban of Christian sentiment, could have had so general and high recogni-

tion a century and a half ago in New England. In March, 1744, lotteries were officially authorized in Massachusetts; in 1757 the town of Boston instituted a lottery to raise money to pay for paving the streets; in 1763 Faneuil Hall was repaired by the aid of a public lottery; in June, 1771, there was an extensive drawing of lottery prizes in the same building; and in 1803 the sign of the horn of plenty was adopted as a symbol over the doors of houses where lotteries were held.

Section 4.—Superstitions.

Superstitions were rife. The witchcraft delusions have passed fully into history. They were not, however, peculiar to the American colonies. Indeed, they only slightly existed here, as compared with the older countries across the Atlantic, where tens of thousands, during the century from 1620–1720 were put to death as witches. But the affair at Salem, Mass., was a grievous matter and the action of the civil powers a gross offense, though they treated the cases more leniently than they were treated by the best jurists in the Old World. All through the eighteenth century strange superstitions abounded. What stories have reached us of Captain Kidd's hidden treasures along the Atlantic coast, for which numerous deluded parties digged! Mrs. H. B. Stowe's *Old-Town Folks* gives a clear view of some of the superstitions of the last century. Witch-hazel and sweet apple rods were supposed by many to have a marvelous virtue; but these were only smaller specimens* of current delusions.

In Boylston, Mass., about thirty persons from that and the adjoining towns, on the impulse and authority of dreams, began to dig on the lands of Nathaniel Davenport, Esq., continuing their labors for several weeks, excavating to the depth of eight or ten feet, and forty feet in circumference. The labor was principally performed

* The following advertisement in the *Connecticut Gazette* (New Haven), October 1, 1757, will show the superstition of that period:

TO BE SOLD BY THE PRINTERS HEREOF.
A True and Wonderful Relation of the appearance
OF THREE ANGELS

(Clothed in white raiment) to a Young Man in Medford, in New England, at night:—together with the substance of the Discourse, delivered by one of the Angels, from the 3d Chapter of Colos. and the 4th Verse.

The Public may depend that the above Narrative is no imposition, but that it is a true account as related by the young man himself to numbers of people, many of whom can attest he is a person of good character.

in moonlight evenings, with a table on the ground, with an open Bible and a rusty sword upon it, one man sitting upon the bank, with sweet apple or witch-hazel rods in his hands, to inform the working men in what particular spot the money was. As it was believed the money had the power of locomotion it was uncertain whether it would remain stationary for any length of time. This money, for what reason is unknown, was supposed by these credulous and avaricious fortune-hunters to have been placed there by pirates, and that some person was murdered and buried there to take care of it. To appease the spirit of this person, a dove was one day procured and bled over the spot where the money was supposed to be, and the blood was sprinkled around the excavation. Profound silence was believed to be a *sine qua non* in obtaining the treasure. One man while at work alone in the evening struck the point of his bar, as he reported, under the bail of the kettle which contained the money, and heard very distinctly the sound of the specie, but unfortunately at that moment he heard the sound of musketry, looked up, and, in his excited imagination, saw on the brow of the hill an army firing upon him. The bail of the kettle took this opportunity to slip off the point of the bar and could be found no more. The writer * of this sketch said he recollected, when a youth, going to see the money-diggers operate.

Section 5.—Indentured Servitude.

Human serfdom antedates reliable history. A system of villeinage of immemorial duration prevailed all over Europe at the time America was first settled. "The first Virginia tenants were little better than villein; they were bound to remain seven years on the land, and to pay one half of the whole produce for rent." But this rigid system did not long continue. Under such severe conditions many emigrated from Virginia to Maryland, and from the New York Colony to New Jersey, to escape the exactions of the great proprietors, who held their thousands of acres.

In the earliest traces of the tribes occupying the British Isles we find slaves or serfs. Under the beneficent influence of the principles of the Magna Charta, the preaching of Wicliffe and the Lollards, and the later stages of the Reformation, English serfdom was greatly modified; but some relics of this form of ancient villeinage,

* Mathew Davenport's *Sketch of the History of the Town of Boylston, Mass.*

which involved bondage to the soil, survived the Restoration. Long terms of service, with wages arbitrarily fixed by authority, took the place of the more ancient serfdom, and any resistance, shrinking or evasion was rigorously repressed by law. Many servants bound for long terms, and treated as property, were brought to the English colonies in America. Poor children, vagrants, unfortunates, criminals, debtors, etc., became stock in the colonial market and suffered monstrous abuses. A Dutch writer called the English "a villanous people, who would sell their own fathers for servants." The victims of privateers were sold into bondage in the colonies. English laborers, despairing of bettering their condition at home, men in domestic troubles, runaway husbands, runaway wives, runaway children, prison-breakers, etc., bound themselves to serve a term of years and took their chances, hoping to find a better estate in the New World. Little lads were 'inveigled and by lewd subtleties' enticed aboard vessels on the Thames and carried to the colonies. The furnishing of servants to the colonies became a speculation. The capturing and selling persons into servitude was a common traffic in English cities.

In the most paradoxical scene in judicial history the worst of judges, George Jeffreys, himself reeking with corruptions and cruelties incredible, is found arraigning the aldermen of Bristol, England, for their share in this trade. Ordering the scarlet-robed mayor from his seat on the bench to a place in the prisoner's dock, he cried with brutal exultation, "See how the kidnapping rogue looks!" He ranted at the aldermen in words too vile to be reprinted. Yet the selling of condemned men and the condemning of men that they might be sold were practiced openly in the court of James II. at this very time. The ladies of the queen's bed-chamber, and the queen herself, eagerly snatched at the profits from the sale of the rebels of Monmouth's Rebellion, whom Jeffreys had just then condemned. Even William Penn begged for twenty of them for the Philadelphia market.

To Philadelphia, in the later periods, were brought great numbers of Germans inveigled by artful agents to sell themselves through brokers at the Dutch ports. . . . Many hardy Germans, having money enough to pay their fare, preferred to sell themselves for a term of years, in order to learn the language and the ways of the country. Others paid half the fare and were sold for the remainder; and some paid the passage of the family by selling one or two of their surplus children into bondage during minority. One reads in the Philadelphia papers, in 1729, of "choice maid-servants fit for town and country," to be had of a certain wine-cooper, and of "a parcel of likely servant-men and boys for sale" about the same time The development of the back country produced the "soul-drivers," as they were contemptously called—men who peddled servants in droves of fifty or more. . . . The sending over the dissolute and criminal had begun in the reign of James I. The severity of English penal laws, by which sometimes "twenty were hanged up at a clap," occasioned evasions of all kinds. . . . The need for men in the colonies offered a new opportunity for merciful evasions of the death penalty in

cases of minor felony. It became common to pardon thieves on condition of their accepting a seven-years' term of service in the colonies. . . . Franklin proposed to send a present of rattlesnakes for the king's garden as a fit return for the convicts out of English jails. The number of bond servants even in New England seems to have been large, and the supply was much greater in the wheat and tobacco countries. Every kind of business in Pennsylvania depended upon the labor of indentured servants. In 1670 Virginia had 6,000 English servants, while there were yet but 2,000 negroes.

The treatment of servants was as various as the character of their masters. . . . It was an age of flogging; criminals, soldiers, sailors, pupils, children, and now and then even wives, were thought the better for scourging. One ought hardly to be surprised, therefore, at the numerous and cruel whippings of English servants, women as well as men, who were scourged naked, with hickory rods, and washed with brine, the punishment continuing sometimes at intervals for hours or being renewed day after day. There were also in use, by masters and overseers, thumb-screws, sweatings, and other such devil's devices. The food allowed was sometimes a scant diet of Indian meal. The sick servant was neglected lest the doctor's charge should exceed the value of his remaining service; and one thrifty master required a servant, sick of a mortal disease, to dig his own grave in advance in order to save the other men's time. In 1705 Virginia prohibited the secret burial of servants and the whipping of "Christian white servants" naked without the consent of a justice; and in 1715 Maryland made several protective provisions, one forbidding the giving of more than ten lashes for one offense, unless with approval of a magistrate. In New England, where servants were often regarded as Christian brethren, and where settlements were more dense, care could be and was exercised to prevent injustice and cruelty; but there were instances of brutal hardships notwithstanding, and even of a servant's dying from a master's cruelty.*

The servile classes were a source of moral corruption, especially to the young. Many, however, were of excellent character and rose to good positions. Some bond-maids were married to those who purchased them. Through industry and frugality some servants acquired wealth and founded families that rose to respectability and honor; but others were the basis of criminal and pauper classes of later years.

Section 6.—African Slavery.

But a more radical form of personal bondage—human chattelship—was introduced at the very beginning of the colonial era. As early as about 1450, thousands of African negroes were annually brought into Europe, and as early as 1553 we find them in England. The Spaniards employed them in their colonies to work the mines. The English colonists in America followed, and four-

* Edward Eggleston, in *The Century*, Oct., 1884, pp. 854–856.

teen "negroes" were introduced into the Jamestown Colony, in 1619, by a Dutch frigate. Others were soon brought from the West Indies, and also many directly from Africa. "The Royal African Company" in England promoted the African slave traffic, and publicly advocated the business before Charles II., in 1663, as necessary to the development of the Anglo-American "plantations." All the American colonies shared in this form of servitude. In 1735 the Lords Commissioners of Trade said that without the advantage of slave labor the colonies "could not possibly subsist." In 1646 the General Court of Massachusetts, whose fundamental law prohibited villeinage and other feudal servitudes, undertook to send back to Africa negroes who had been kidnapped by a slaver, so flagrant in their eyes seemed the offense of "man-stealing." Nevertheless the Puritan conscience did not hesitate to sell Indians captured in war into chattel slavery, or to buy slaves who came into bondage otherwise than by stealing. Thousands of negro slaves were sold into New England. Boston merchants engaged in the Guinea trade, but Newport R. I., was the great center of this traffic. In 1700 the "free colored" and slaves in all the colonies were estimated at 32,000; in 1750, 220,000; in 1775, 500,000; or 10 per cent., 16 per cent. and 19 per cent., respectively, of the whole population.

In Massachusetts a few negro slaves were owned prior to 1639, but the African slave trade was never prosecuted by the inhabitants of this colony to any extent, and a degree of infamy attached to the character of those engaged in it. As early as 1700 there were few African slaves in the whole province. The official report of the governor to the Board of Trade states the whole number to be 550, of which all but 150 were in Boston. In 1720 the official returns show 2,000 in the whole province; in 1765 the number was 5,779, which was never exceeded. Slaves were imported into Connecticut direct from Africa during the middle of the last century. The following advertisements taken from the *Connecticut Gazette* (New Haven) October 1, 1757, will tell the story of the African slave trade in Connecticut at that time:

To be Sold, several likely Negro Boys and Girls: arrived from Coast of Africa. Samuel Willis, at Middletown.

A Likely *Negro Wench* and *Child* to be sold:—Inquire of the Printer.

To be Sold by the subscriber, of Branford, a likely Negro Wench, 18 years of age, is acquainted with all sorts of House work; is sold for no fault.

Fresh from Africa, they were received and treated as untamed barbarians. Some, whose backs had been long "bent to the burden of their inheritance," were patient and submissive; others, unaccustomed to authority and warfare, captured in recent wars, were defiant, scorning obedience and despising toil. Savage dances constituted their amusement and strange mummeries their funeral ceremonies. Their *fetich* superstitions and sorceries linked them, in the alarmed imaginations of their masters, with evil spirits. The Salem witchcrafts grew out of the juggleries of African servants domesticated in the households. Severe treatment and extraordinary penalties were inflicted under a legislation which in those times was full of harshness even toward white people. Death was a frequent penalty for offenses of slight criminality. Thirty lashes, and even more, cutting off an ear, ham-stringing, branding in the face, slitting the nose, and even worse mutilations were inflicted upon these children of the Dark Continent.

Driven to desperation, negro insurrections and incendiary fires occurred. In the period from 1730–1740 there was general alarm in some sections, and many slaves were tortured and put to death. Few women were imported from Africa in the earlier period, and the men lived together in gangs, in brutal vice, with none of the ameliorations of family life. Some time elapsed before the slave women came to bear a fitting proportion to the slave men. Even then for a long time marriage and family life were only faint semblances. Gradually the negro became domesticated, more gentle and tractable, and the relations between the races more kindly.

Efforts for the Improvement of the Slaves.

Some efforts were made to convert the slaves to Christianity. James II. had his attention called to the pagan condition of the negroes, and resolved, in 1685, that all slaves on the English plantations should be christened; but the purpose was never executed. William Penn, in 1700, had "a concern for the souls of the blacks." Elias Neau, a catechist for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1704 to 1718, labored among the negroes in New York city. About 1728 a widely extended but feeble movement, under the direction of the Bishop of London, for the Christian instruction of the slaves, was attempted, in which the clergy and ladies of South Carolina were most successful. At the same time there was in Boston a negro school, and ministers preached to them special sermons. In 1743 a school for negroes was founded in Charleston,

S. C. In Maryland they were sometimes taught with white children in the parish schools. Under the Whitefieldian revivals greater attention was given to the blacks. Rev. Samuel Davies, subsequently President of Princeton College, while pastor in Virginia, in 1756, received forty or fifty to the communion and gave them Sabbath instruction. Gradually humane restrictions were imposed by legislation upon the master.

Section 7.—Antislavery.

It was with the common consent, and in accordance with the common practice, of Christian nations that African slavery was introduced and became domesticated in America. A half century passed in some of the colonies before any scruples in regard to it appeared. The negroes were "heathen," "infidels," and instruction in the Christian religion was resisted by planters lest baptism should emancipate them. In process of time some colonies found themselves in danger of being overrun by the blacks, liable to insurrection and other evils. They, therefore, sought to check the importation of negroes. South Carolina placed a duty upon slaves. Bristol merchants protested against such laws. The crown sustained the complainants, and the royal governors were told that the colonists must not "discourage a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

In Massachusetts negro slavery came into existence without legislative action. As early as 1641 the General Court adopted this order; "It is ordered by this court and the authority thereof that there shall never be any bond slavery, villeinage or captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us." Subsequently the colonial legislature, finding the evil had gained a foothold, recognized and undertook to regulate it.

Rev. John Eliot, the Quakers, etc., Protest.

In 1675 Rev. John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, memorialized the governor and council of Massachusetts against selling captured Indians into slavery, because "the selling of souls is dangerous merchandise." He also, "with a bleeding and burning passion," says Cotton Mather, remonstrated against "the abject condition of the enslaved Africans." As early as 1688 a body of Quakers in Germantown, Pa., presented to their Yearly Meeting a protest against "buying, selling and holding men in slavery;" and five

years later Mr. George Keith, also a Pennsylvania Quaker, denounced slavery as "contrary to the religion of Christ, the rights of man," etc.; and, three years later still, the Yearly Meeting took formal action against the introduction of slaves. In the year 1700 Samuel Sewall, Esq., subsequently Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, published a tract entitled, *The Selling of Joseph*, in which he characterized with singular boldness the system of slavery as an outrage, and enunciated "the primal truth of human equality and obligation." In the year 1700 the public mind was agitated in relation to slavery, and the next year the town of Boston instructed its representatives "to promote the encouraging and the bringing of white servants, and to put a period to negroes being slaves." In 1716 the Quakers in Dartmouth, Mass., memorialized the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting on the evil of slavery, and the Nantucket Society of Friends declared it to be repugnant to the truth to purchase and hold slaves. In 1729 the same society sent a serious address on the subject of slavery to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In the same year William Burling, in the Yearly Meeting on Long Island, bore faithful testimony against slavery, and Elihu Coleman and Ralph Standifred published pamphlets condemning the institution of slavery as "iniquitous and anti-Christian." Eight years later Benjamin Lay, another Quaker, pleaded the cause of the bondmen in a volume published in Philadelphia.

Rev. John Wesley and Others Protest.

In 1736 Rev. John Wesley, during his residence in Georgia, protested against slavery; and in 1739 Rev. George Whitefield addressed a letter to the Southern colonies, denouncing the system and its barbarities. In the years 1755, '56, '57, a correspondence on the subject of slavery was carried on between Rev. Samuel Davies, in Virginia, and Rev. John Wesley, the latter donating books for the benefit of the colored people in Mr. Davies's parish. From 1746 to 1767 Mr. John Woolman, a distinguished Friend in New Jersey, traveled extensively through the Middle and Southern colonies, preaching against the practice of holding men in bondage.

In 1767 an attempt was made in the Massachusetts Legislature to abolish the slave trade, by introducing a bill "to prevent the unnatural and unwarrantable custom of enslaving mankind and the importation of slaves into the province." Owing to some disagreement between the two branches of the legislature, and the absolute certainty of a veto from the loyal governor, the measure was not

passed. The bill finally passed both houses in January, 1774, but Governor Hutchinson refused his assent, his "instructions," he said, "forbidding." His successor, Governor Gage, refused for the same reason. The blacks had better success in the judicial courts. Slaves brought action against their masters for detaining them in bondage. Between 1770 and the Revolution several of these suits were brought, and the juries invariably gave their verdict in favor of liberty.

In the latter part of this period Anthony Benezet, of Huguenot parentage, a man of practical piety, appeared in the field toiling for the oppressed.

During the ten years preceding the Revolution a desire for emancipation and the extinction of the slave trade became very general, and found frequent utterance in pulpits and pamphlets. Nor were these efforts without apparent fruit. Many towns passed resolutions praying the colonial legislatures to take action at once in the interest of humanity; and many slave masters, who subsequently aided in inaugurating the Revolution and fighting its battles, became hostile to the slave trade, and even to the existence of slavery itself. The general agitation of questions relating to the rights of man, and particularly the colonial rights, aided this movement, and made the sinfulness and wrong of slavery more apparent.

Benezet, Rush, Hopkins, etc.

But this great work was not advanced chiefly by the efforts of statesmen and philanthropists. The prime impulse and support came from Christian laymen and divines, who furnished its pabulum and inspiration. In the six years from 1770 to 1776 the antislavery efforts of several Christian gentlemen attracted particular attention. In Pennsylvania that sterling Christian nobleman, Anthony Benezet, was still in the midst of his indefatigable labors—"few men," according to Dr. Benjamin Rush, "ever lived a more disinterested life;" the supreme objects of his enthusiastic philanthropy were the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation and instruction of the negroes. He conducted evening schools in Philadelphia for their benefit, and wrote, published and distributed throughout the colonies, at his own expense, tracts against slavery. In 1771 he published his *Historical Account of Guinea, and an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade*, which enlightened and quickened the youthful mind of Hon. Thomas Clarkson, the great English antislavery reformer, and imparted the impulse to his great life-work.

In 1773 another eminent Philadelphian, Dr. Benjamin Rush, conspicuous as a Christian, a physician, a philanthropist and a statesman, in whose home Asbury and other early Wesleyan evangelists often received hospitality, published an address on the injustice and inhumanity of slavery. The following year, under his advocacy, the First Continental Congress determined that the United Colonies should "neither import nor purchase any slaves, and would wholly discontinue the slave trade." Soon after the North Carolina, Virginia and Georgia conventions pledged their "utmost endeavors for the manumission of the slaves in their colonies." April 6, 1776, Congress resolved, without opposition, that "no slaves be imported into the thirteen United Colonies." All these movements are largely credited to Dr. Rush.

One of the most decided and resolute champions of abolition in this period was Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., of Newport, R. I., famous for the phase of theology which bore his name. A frequent witness of the landing of slaves from Africa, near his church and home, he became deeply stirred with the abominations of the system. As early as 1770 he boldly attacked the infamous trade in his own congregation (deeply involved in the guilt of slave trading and slave holding), sharply rebuked the sin, and pleaded the cause of its victims. Through his efforts in 1774 the further importation of negroes was prohibited in Rhode Island. In 1776 he published a famous pamphlet against slavery—the ablest document that had then appeared on the subject—dedicated to the Continental Congress, "urging the duty and interest of the American States to emancipate all the African slaves."

At their Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, in 1774, the Friends enacted regulations against slavery more stringent than any that had preceded, and in 1776 they resolved that "owners of slaves who refused to enact proper instruments for giving them their freedom shall be disowned." In 1774 Rev. John Wesley's celebrated tract, *Thoughts on Slavery*, subsequently sown broadcast throughout England, Scotland and Ireland during the great English emancipation movement, was published and circulated among his societies in America. His first American itinerants were active disseminators of his antislavery views, suffering persecution in some quarters on account of them.

The Revolution, with its exciting events, was at hand. In another place consideration of the antislavery movement will be resumed.

CHAPTER X.

EDUCATION UNDER PROTESTANTISM.

SEC. 1. The Common School System.
" 2. The Colleges.
SEC. 3. Education of the Ministry.

THE schools of Judea and Egypt were ecclesiastical, convenience and gratitude confirming the monopoly of the clergy. The schools of the Nile gave character and direction to those of Greece and Rome. Education became secular only in countries where the priesthood did not exist as a separate body. At Rome children were trained for the duties of life in the forum and the senate house. The literary education of the first Christians was obtained in pagan schools, which flourished down to the fourth century, in Southern Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa. The first attempt to provide a special education for Christians was made at Alexandria, under Clement and Origen. The education of the Middle Ages was either that of the cloister or the castle, the one aiming to form a monk and the other a knight. Those illustrious monasteries, Monte Cassino, Fulda and Tours, kept the torch of learning ablaze during the Dark Ages, and should not be ungratefully forgotten, though the character and value of the teachings they imparted should not be exaggerated. Both of these forms of education disappeared under the brighter illuminations of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed the rise of universities and academies almost all over Europe. For one hundred years no part of Europe shone with brighter luster than the Northern Netherlands. But even in this advanced era education was not dissociated from ecclesiastical influence. The name of Erasmus best represents the education of the Renaissance, and Luther and Melanchthon that of the Reformation. Luther introduced the school-master to the cottage, and laid the foundations of the system which is the chief honor and strength of modern Germany. Melanchthon, with his numerous editions of school-books and

practical labors in education, earned the title of *Preceptor Germaniæ*. The purification and widening of education kept pace with the purification of religion. It would not be difficult to trace a picture of the education which the Reformation furnished to the middle classes of Europe, if the limits of this brief preliminary sketch allowed it. Suffice it to say that the Protestant schools became the best in Europe and the monkish institutions were left to decay, until the Jesuits arose and to some extent redeemed them for a season; but the Jesuits were liable to the charge of taking too rigid possession of the pupils in body and soul. The great universities of England and Scotland, in which the founders of the Anglo-American colonies received their education, had their origin and growth in close relations with the Christian Church.

Thus it appears that, in both ancient and modern times, education has been almost wholly an outgrowth from ecclesiastical life. Pre-eminently has this been true since the Christian era was inaugurated. The educational beginnings and growth in the American colonies, we shall soon see, conspicuously illustrate this rule.

Section 1.—The Common School System.

It has already been noticed that the Protestant colonists in America were actuated primarily by religious aims, and that the first companies of settlers represented church organizations.

Southern Colonies.

Almost at the beginning of the settlement at Jamestown the Bishop of London raised £1,000 toward a college, and it was resolved that "each town, borough, and hundred, ought to procure by just means a certain number of children (natives) to be brought up; that the most towardly of these should be fitted for college." Ten thousand acres of land were laid off for the "University of Henrico," for the education of the English as well as the Indians. The minister of Henrico, Rev. Mr. Bargrave, gave his library. Preparatory to the college, an institution was about to be established at St. Charles City; but the whole project received its death-blow from the terrible Indian massacre in March, 1622. Long and disastrous Indian wars followed, and the project of founding a college was deferred until the establishment of William and Mary College, in 1692. We find no traces of common schools in the colony.

In the South, the sons of the great planters were liberally educated and polished in manners, while the scattered common people had no schools and were very rude and ignorant; but the masses in New England, with few exceptions, had some rough schooling, besides the advantages for intellectual culture afforded by the meeting-house and the debates of the town meeting. Such advantages were not appreciated in Virginia. One of the governors of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, in 1670, replying to inquiries addressed to him by the Lords of Plantations, said, "I thank God there are no schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" *

In Maryland the Legislature made provisions for high schools in all the counties as early as 1723, and lands and money were appropriated in their aid. A poll tax for the aid of education was laid on negroes and Irish Catholic servants coming into the province.

In the Carolinas no efficient system of education was provided for a long time, and meager results were therefore reached. The constitution of North Carolina in 1776 made it the duty of the Legislature "to establish schools for the convenient instruction of youth," and "one or more universities;" but no adequate pecuniary provision for the latter was furnished. South Carolina was somewhat more alive to this work, and as early as 1700 the Legislature provided for a free school at Charleston, and gave aid to the country schools. It is said that, during the first three fourths of the eighteenth century, a larger number of students from South Carolina than from any other colony went to Europe for a university education. In 1769 a bill for founding a college was introduced into the Legislature, but it failed. The Constitution of Georgia adopted in 1777 provided that every county should "establish and keep a school at the public expense." The first school in Pennsylvania, in 1683, was private—tuition, eight shillings per annum.

New York.

Those three Protestant peoples, the Dutch, the Huguenots, and the Puritans, all brought the Church, the Bible and the schoolmaster with them. In 1626 two school-masters arrived on Manhat-

* Hening's *Laws of Virginia.* Appendix.

tan Island to instruct the young, to comfort the sick, to read sermons on Sunday, and to teach the Heidelberg Catechism. The name of Adam Roelansen figures prominently as a pedagogue in the early history of that colony; but the progress of education was slow, there being in 1636 only three schools in the whole province. In 1659 a Latin school was started which was soon resorted to by students as far south as Delaware and Virginia. After the province fell into the hands of the English, in 1664, a better impulse was given to education. In 1670 we find schools at Albany, and family schools sprang up elsewhere without any system of law.

New England.

Students of the genesis of the New England States are impressed with the intelligence, mental grasp and wise foresight of the founders of these colonies. They loved the State, the Church and the school, and by organized voluntary action in individual towns a school system was generated which was subsequently incorporated into law. The leading founders of the New England colonies were well educated men, who believed and asserted "that the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit in any Commonwealth."

In the year 1636 there were living in Massachusetts between three thousand and four thousand emigrants, domiciled in log huts and wretched hovels often little better than Indian wigwams. Even their first house of worship in Boston was built with a thatched roof and mud walls. But no sooner had they built their rude dwellings and simple temples for divine worship than they began to instruct their children, first around their own firesides, but very soon in public schools, under a system in which the families of the poor and unlearned, as well as those of better circumstances, equally shared.

The Plymouth Colony having a smaller population, the first schools were feeble, and came more slowly into a system. As early as 1623 the children of Plymouth were "catechised and learned to read," though they had "no common school or means to maintain one" till some years later. The Massachusetts Colony led the way. A Boston record of April 13, 1635, says:

"It was generally agreed upon that our brother, Philemon Pormont, shall be entreated to become a school-master for ye teaching and nourishing of children with us."*

* Snow's *History of Boston*, p. 348.

In August, 1636, Daniel Maude was chosen to the office of "free school-master," and a subscription was made "toward the maintenance of a free school-master, Mr. Daniel Maude being now chosen thereunto." Forty pounds were raised, a sum then equal to the salary "of a Reverend Pastor." In 1641, Deer Island was set apart and rented "for the maintenance of a Free Schoole for the Towne." This island was thus leased for thirty-one years, after which Long Island and Spectacle Island were also leased for the same purpose. Thus was established, first by voluntary subscriptions, and afterward by the action of the town, the first public school in Boston, and probably in New England, which abides to this day under the title of the "Public Latin School of Boston." This school was the only place of instruction in Boston for forty-seven years. In 1682 two other schools were established, for instruction principally in writing and arithmetic. During this period the only reading-book used was the Bible.

Next came the formation of a department since called "Grammar Schools." In 1686, £200 were expended for three public schools. The earliest record of a public school in Charlestown, Mass., is June 3, 1636; in Salem, 1637; in Beverly, 1656; in Roxbury, 1645; in Dorchester, 1639; in Watertown, 1649. In Salem, in 1641, when a subscription was raised for school expenses, it was ordered:

"If any poor bodie hath children or a childe to be put to schoole, and is not able to pay for their schooling, that *the town shall pay it by a rate.*"

This is the seed from which sprang the public free schools of Massachusetts and America.

In the records of the New Haven Colony, at a session of the General Court in 1641, it was ordered that

"A free school be set up in this town, and our pastor, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance shall be given to it out of the common stock of the town, and also what rule or laws are meet to be observed in and about the same."

In 1642 the first school was established in Hartford, and an appropriation of £30 was settled upon it. Parents able to pay were required to pay "twenty shillings the year;" others had their children instructed at the town's charge.

In subsequent legislation the pastors are often referred to as superintending the school. In May, 1714, the General Court recommended the general association of the churches to inquire into the

state of religion and education, in accordance with which an act was passed designed to secure the due execution of the law for the education of children. After the establishment of the parish societies within the limits of incorporated towns the common schools were under the supervision of officers appointed by school societies coterminous with the parishes.* The minister was almost always one of these officers. As early as 1701, the year of the founding of Yale College, the General Court established "a grammar school, in the four chief counties, to fit pupils for college," and also granted an annual appropriation for their benefit.

The author of *New England's First Fruits*,† after giving an account of Harvard College and its "appointment to be at Cambridge (a place very pleasant and accommodate)," says, "And by the side of the colledge a faire grammar schoole for the training up of young schollars and fitting of them for academical learning," etc. In this school, besides English scholars, several Indians were fitted for college. This was the origin of the present Cambridge High School. By the will of Governor Edward Hopkins (d. 1657) £500 was given to the college and school at Cambridge, in order "To give some encouragement to those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths in a way of learning, both at the grammar school and college, *for the service of the country in future times.*" The original agreement at the founding of the school in Roxbury shows the convictions under which the work of education was undertaken. It was "in consideration of a relligeous care of posteritie," and "how necessarie the education of theire children in literature will be to fitt them for public service, both in churche and commonwealth, in succeeding ages." They therefore agreed "to erect a free schoole." May 30, 1639, the town of Dorchester, by vote, imposed a rent of £20 a year upon Thompson's Island, to be paid "by every person who hath proprietie in said island," "towards the mayntenance of a schoole in Dorchester," and "to such a schoolmaster as shall undertake to teach English, Latine and other tongues, and also writing, the said school-master to be chosen from tyme to tyme by the freemen; and it is left to the discretion of the elders and the 'seven men' for the time being, *whether maydes*‡ *shall be*

* David N. Camp in *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut*, p. 249, etc.

† Published in London, in 1643.

‡ "It is a curious fact in the history of our schools that not until 1789 were girls admitted, and then only on account of a peculiar circumstance, which also shows us the primitive character of the times. From the middle of April to the middle of October so large a number of boys were engaged in agricultural or industrial labor that the schools became greatly deserted; and to occupy in some way this incidental vacancy girls were allowed during the interval to attend the schools.

taught with the boyes or not." The town of Dorchester is claimed by those who have closely investigated the matter to have been two years ahead of similar action in Boston, which is "the first public provision in the world for a free school supported by a direct taxation on the inhabitants of the town."

The Common School System Begun.

Inasmuch as we have here, in the action of the people of Dorchester, the beginning of the common school system which has characterized New England, and has spread throughout so vast an area beyond her borders, it will be a matter of interest and profit to reproduce in this place some of "the rules and orders" adopted March 14, 1645, for the regulation of these schools. They comprise seven articles. Article first provided for the election of the "school committee;" the second gave the power to collect and raise money; the third authorized and directed them in employing teachers; the fourth instructed them to pay the teachers; the fifth required them to keep the school-house in repair and instructed them how to provide for such expenses; the sixth required them "to take care that every yeare, at or before the end of the 9th month, there bee brought to the school-howse 12 sufficient cart or wayne loads for fewell," the cost to be borne by the scholars. The seventh article pertains to the mode of conducting the school and is too precious a curiosity to be omitted:*

Lastly.—The sayd Wardens shall take care that the Schoolm^r for the tyme beeing doe faythfully p^r forme his dutys in his place, as schoolm^r ought to doe, as well in other things as in these wh^ch are hereafte^r expressed, viz., First, That the Schoolm^r shall dilligently attend his Schoole, and doe his vtmost indeavo^r for Benefitting his schollers according to his best discretion, w^th out vnnecessaryly absenting himself to the p^r iudice of his scholle^rs and hindering their learning.

2^ly. That from the beginning of the first moneth vntill the end of the 7^th, he shall eu^ry day beginn to teach at seaven of the Clock in the morning and dismisse his schole^rs at fyue in the afternoon^e. And for the othe^r fyue months, that is, from the begin^g of the 8^th moneth vntill the end of the 12^th month he shall eu^ry day beginn at 8 of the Clock in the morning, and [end] at 4 in the afternoon.

3^ly. Eu^ry day in the yeere the vsuall tyme of dismissing at noon shall be at 11, to beginn agayne at one, except that

This summer privilege for girls was continued for thirty years, when it was found to be so satisfactory in its results that the time was extended to eight months; but not until thirty-nine years after they were first admitted to the schools, and not until ninety-three years after the earliest public school for boys was established, were the girls admitted to a full and equal share in all the privileges of the public schools."—*Annual Report of Massachusetts Board of Education for* 1868, p 15.

* See Fortieth Annual report of the Board of Education of Massachusetts, 1875, 1876, pp. 114, etc.

4ly. Eury second day in the weeke he shall call his scholler s togeither betweene 12 and one of the Clock to examine them what they haue learned on the saboath day prceding at wch tyme also he shall take notice of any misdemeanor or outrage that any of his schollers shall have committed on the saboath, to the end that at somme convenient tyme due Admonition and Correction may be administered by him according as the nature and qualitie of the offence shall require, at wch sayd examination any of the Elders or other Inhabitants that please may bee present, to behold his religious care herein, and to give there Countenance and approbation of the same.

5ly. Hee shall equally and impartially receive and instruct such as shal be sent and committed to him for that end, whither there parents bee poore or rich, not refusing any who have Right and Interest in the schoole.

6ly. Such as shall be committed to him he shall diligently instruct, as they shalbe able to learne, both in humane learning and good litterature, and lykewyse in poynt of good manners and dutifull behaviour towards all, specially their supiors as they shall have occasion to bee in their presence, whither by meeting them in the streete or otherwyse.

7ly. Every six day of the weeke at 2 of the Clock in the afternoone, he shall catechise his schollers in the principles of Christian religion, either in some catechisme wch the Wardens shall prvide and prsent, or in defect thereof in some other.

8ly. And because all man's indeavor wthout the blessing of God must needs bee fruitlesse and vnsuccessfull, theirfore. It is to be a chief prte of the schoolmrs religious care to commend his schollers and his Labours amongst them vnto God by prayer morning and evening, taking Care that his scholers doe reuerendly attend during the same.

9ly. And because the Rodd of Correction is an ordinance of God, necessary sometymes to be dispensed vnto Children, but such as may easily be abused by ouer much seuritie and rigour on the one hand, or by ouer much indulgence and lenitye on the other; It is therefore ordered and agreed that the schoolemaster for the tyme beeing shall have full power to minister Correction to all or any of his schollers wthout respect of persons, according as the nature and qualitie of the offence shall require; whereto all his schollers must bee duely subject; and no parent or other of the Inhabitants shall hinder or go about to hinder the master therein: neuertheless yf any parent or other shall think there is iust cause of Complaynt agaynst the master for too much seueritie such shall have liberty friendly and louingly to expostulate wth such master about the same; and yf they shall not attayne to satisfaction, the matter is then to be referred to the wardens, who shall imprtially Judge betwixt the master and such Complaynants. And yf yt shall appeare to them that any parent shall make causelesse Complaynt against the mr in his behalfe, and shall prsist in and Continue so doeing, in such case the wardens shall have power to discharge the mr of the care and charge of the Children of such parents.

But yf the thing Complayned of be true, and that the mr have indeed bene guiltie of ministering excessive Correction, and shall appeere to them to continue therein, notwithstanding that they have advised him otherwise, in such case, as also in the case too much lenitye or any other great neglect of dutye in his place persisted in, It shall be in the power of the Wardens to call the Inhabitants together to consider whither it be not meet to discharge the mr of his place, that so somme other more desirable may be provided. And because it is difficult, yf

not Impossible, to give p^rticular^ rules yt shall reach all cases w^ch^ may fall out, therefore, fo^r^ a Conclusion, It is ordered and agreed in generall, that, where p^rticular^ rules are wanting, there it shall be a p^r^te of the office and dutye of the Wardens to orde^r^ and dispose of all things that Concerne the schoole, in such sort as in thei^r^ wisdome and discretion they shall Judge most Conducible fo^r^ the glory of God and the trayning up of the Children of the Towne in religion, learning and Civilitie:—And these orde^r^s to bee continued till the maio^r^ p^r^te of the Town shall see cause to alte^r^ any p^r^te thereof.

The foregoing facts show what were the methods of the fathers in founding the common schools of this country. The example of these towns was followed by others, and in all cases we see the schools growing up out of the influence of the churches and fostered by them. These schools were grammar schools, in some of which "the Greek and Latin tongues" were taught, and in all of which there was instruction in reading, writing and keeping of accounts and a careful training in the principles of Christianity, as the only sure foundation of public and private morality. The teachers were often continued in the same school twenty, thirty and even fifty years, laying broad and deep the foundations of the Commonwealth. Hence Cotton Mather, alluding to some of these old teachers, wrote:

> 'Tis Corlet's pains, and Cheever's we must own,
> That thou, New England, art not Sythia grown.

The management of the schools was confided by the towns to a body of men known under different titles, "Prudentials," "Wardens," "Foeffees," and, later, the "School Committee." Other schools sometimes existed, of lower grades, kept by private persons, those by elderly women being called "dame schools." It was not until twelve years after Philemon Pormont was engaged for the "nurturing of ye youth of Boston," that the General Court, in November, 1647, recognized and gave the sanction of public law to the schools and made the support of them compulsory upon every town having fifty householders. This famous order deserves a place here:

> It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than in other towns.
>
> And it is further ordered, that where any towne shall increase to the number of 100 families or householders, they shall set up a grammar schoole, the master

thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University; provided that if any town neglect the performance hereof above one yeare, every such towne shall pay five shillings to the next schoole till they shall perform this order.

"This notable law," says Hon. Joseph White,* "giving voice as it did to the convictions of the people, was every-where cheerfully obeyed. On every side, as the ancient forests gave way before the hardy pioneers, in their slow but sure advance from the seaboard into the interior, the meeting-house and the school-house arose side by side with the log huts of the settlers, thus converting the desolate places of the wilderness into the homes of a Christian people—the 'seed-plots' of a higher and purer life, for ages yet to come.

"No grander spectacle is presented in the history of any people than that of these ancient men thus struggling for a scanty subsistence amid the privations and dangers of border life, and often for life itself, against the attacks of a stealthy and relentless foe, and yet, as if with a prophetic prevision of the future, sparing no effort, and in their deep poverty shrinking from no sacrifice of time or money needful to plant the pillars of the new Commonwealth—their beloved 'New England,' as they were wont to call it—on the everlasting foundations of universal intelligence and virtue.

"Thus, within a single score of years from the landing on the shores of the bay, the new State is successfully launched, fully equipped for the voyage, we trust, of all the ages, with a good array of towns, each with a government wisely adapted to its needs, and all bound together by the strong bonds of a vigorous central government of their own creation, and administered for the common good, while the meeting-house and the school-house in every township, and 'ye Universitie' at Cambridge, were all working together 'for the building up of hopeful youths in a way of learning, . . . for the service of the country in future times.'"

From our present stand-point the school system of New England in the colonial era seems very crude and rude, but it was far in advance of other sections of the country. In Pennsylvania and New York in those times there were no school-houses outside of villages or town centers, and the children walked to school for miles through regions infested with savage beasts.† In the southern States, and especially in South Carolina, according to Ramsay, education, outside of some wealthy families, was almost wholly neglected, no grammar school existing prior to 1730, and from 1731 and 1776 only five.

The number of newspapers published in any community is supposed to be no mean gauge of the education of the people. We find in 1775, in the entire country, thirty-seven papers in circulation. Fourteen of them were in New England, four in New York, nine in Pennsylvania, two each in Virginia and North Carolina, one in Georgia, and three in South Carolina. ‡

* Report of Massachusetts Board of Education, 1875, 1876, p. 119. For fuller information see also the Twenty-ninth Report, 1866, pp. 70–87.

† See *Life of Dr. Charles Alexander*, pp. 11, 12. See *Life of Charles Caldwell*, p. 64.

‡ McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*. D. Appleton & Co. 1884. P. 27.

Down to the close of the Revolution only three States—Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire—had town schools. *

Academies.

The grammar schools in Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Cambridge, Salem, New Haven, Hartford, etc., soon rose to the grade of more advanced schools. Mather says:

> When scholars had so far profited at the grammar schools that they could read any classical author into English, and readily make and speak true Latin, and write it in verse as well as in prose, and perfectly decline the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, they were judged capable of admission into Harvard College.†

Such was the standard of scholarship of this period. But no institutions under the distinctive title of academies arose in Massachusetts till a later date:

Dummer Academy, at South Byfield, Mass., in 1763.
Phillips Academy, at Andover, Mass., in 1778.
Leicester Academy, at Leicester, Mass., in 1784.
Derby Academy, at Hingham, Mass., in 1785.
New Salem Academy, at New Salem, Mass., in 1795.
Bristol Academy, at Taunton, Mass., in 1796.
Westford Academy, at Westford, Mass., in 1792.
Deerfield Academy, at Deerfield, Mass., in 1799.
Westfield Academy, at Westfield, Mass,, in 1800.

Of the academies ‡ founded in Massachusetts prior to 1800, six were given, as an endowment, a township of land each; one 15,000 acres, and others a half of a township each. These lands were located in Maine, then a province of Massachusetts. "The term 'academy,' which in the mother country had been applied to seminaries of learning established by non-conformists, to distinguish them from the schools and colleges of the Church of England, seems to have been applied very naturally by the sons of the Puritans to similar institutions in this country, and though not confined to schools founded by Congregationalists, was very generally applied to such." §

Dr. Magoun ‖ sums up as follows the secondary institutions of the colonial period: "Aside from those which preceded or grew into colleges—Moor's Charity School; Liberty Hall, Pennsylvania;

* Rev. Dr. Magoun in *New Englander*, 1877, p. 483.
† Mather's *Magnalia*. Vol. II, p. 64, Sec. 4.
‡ See Fortieth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Appendix, pp. 174–347.
§ David N. Camp, Esq. ‖ *New Englander*, 1877, pp. 483, 484.

Prince Edward University Grammar School, Rhode Island—there were Kingston (1774), Rutgers Grammar (1770, coeval with the college), Columbia and Dunmore (1763), Germantown (1760), Hopewell (1756), the three Hopkins schools at New Haven, Hartford, and Hadley (1660, 1665, 1669), and the Boston Latin (1635)—all before the Revolution. But there were private Latin schools earlier than these; and it was common for clergymen to take academic pupils. Mr. Chauncy did so at Scituate. Before Manning and and Stelle, in Warsaw and Providence, Roger Williams did so in 1654. No public school then existed in Rhode Island, an attempt at Newport, in 1640, having failed. Dorchester had a Latin school, mixed in its support, in 1639, and Hartford in 1638. The year before this Ezekiel Cheever had arrived at New Haven, and his school there for twelve years—preparing students for Harvard—was of the same mixed character. That of Daniel Maude, at Boston, two years earlier still (1636) seems to have been altogether private, supported by contributions of Winthrop, Vane, and Bellingham."

Section 2.—The Colleges.

Harvard College

was founded by the Puritans, or Congregationalists. The proportion of the first New England colonists who had received a classical education exceeded that in England. Not less than twenty of the 4,000 who came to Massachusetts Bay in the first five years had been educated at the English universities, most of whom were clergymen not inferior in culture to those of the mother country. It is not strange, therefore, that even while struggling for an existence in new and scattered settlements, under the heavy expenses incident to laying the foundation of the colony, they should entertain a purpose of establishing a college. "It is an object near our hearts," they said "to have an able and learned ministry when those of the present age are laid in their graves."

The first step toward founding Harvard College was a grant of £400 by the magistrates and deputies of Massachusetts, in 1636, for a "school or college" at Cambridge, with an order that £200 more* should soon be added. An able committee was designated

* Equivalent to a tax of half a dollar to every person in the colony. Governor Winthrop said "It was equal to a year's rate of the whole colony." Such a tax in Massachusetts at the present time would yield $900,000.

to carry out the plan. In 1637, it was denominated a college; Nathaniel Eaton was appointed principal, and on the bequest of nearly £800 from Rev. John Harvard of Charlestown it received the name of Harvard College. In 1639, the Legislature granted five hundred acres of land to Mr. Eaton, on condition that he should continue his labors, and ordered the income from the Charlestown ferry (£30 to £50 yearly) to be appropriated to the institution.

Mr. Harvard also bequeathed his library of 320 volumes, which example was followed by many other clergymen of that time, and other grants of land were made by the General Court. All the towns in the colony also contributed funds, which soon reached £2,000, in addition to the first donations of the Legislature and that of Mr. Harvard.

In the year 1640 Rev. Henry Dunster, a very estimable and learned man, came over from England and was installed president of the college. He had been educated at one of the English universities, and had served as a regular clergyman of the Church of England. He was at the head of Harvard College from 1640 to 1654, during which time many young men were educated who became eminent for learning and piety. The first printing establishment in America was founded at Cambridge, in 1638.

PRESIDENTS OF HARVARD COLLEGE FROM 1640 TO 1775.

When inducted.	NAMES.	Resigned.	Died.	Age.
1640	Rev. Henry Dunster, A.M.	1654	1659	..
1654	Rev. Charles Chauncy, D.D.	....	1672	81
1672	Rev. Leonard Hoar, M.D.	1675	1675	45
1675	Rev. Urian Oakes, A.M.	....	1681	50
1683	Hon. John Rogers, A.M.	...	1684	53
1686	Rev. Increase Mather, D.D*	1701	1723	84
1701	Rev. Samuel Willard, A.M.	....	1707	67
1707	Hon. John Leverett, A.M., F.R.S.	....	1724	62
1725	Rev. Benj. Wadsworth, A.M.	....	1737	68
1737	Rev. Edward Holyoke, A.M.	....	1769	80
1770	Rev. Samuel Locke, LL.D.	1773	1777	44
1774	Rev. Samuel Langdon, D.D.	1780	1797	75

In 1652 the Legislature of Massachusetts granted to the college 800 acres of land; in 1653, 2,000 acres; in 1658, 2,100 acres; in 1683, 1,000 acres.† In the course of the colonial and provincial periods, the Legislature made no less than one hundred and three distinct grants to this college.‡ President Quincy declares† that, during

* First President of American birth. † *Hist. of Harvard University.* By Quincy. Vol. I, p. 40.
‡ Report of Visiting Committee, 1849, p. 24.

the first seventy years of its history "its officers were dependent for daily bread upon the bounty of the General Court." Numerous presents and legacies were given to the college, "toward establishing for learning a resting-place, and for science a fixed habitation, on the borders of the wilderness." Between 1636 and 1786 the colony gave Harvard College $116,000 in small sums, being an average of $773 a year.

The foundation and growth of the venerable seat of learning at Cambridge show the high intellectual and religious* character of the New England colonists. The mottos upon two of its ancient seals are "*In gloriam Christi*" and "*Christo et Ecclesiae.*" Pre-eminent among its benefactors was Thomas Hollis, who sent numerous installments of books from England for the library. In 1766 he wrote to Rev. Dr. Mayhew, "More books, especially on government, are going to New England. Should these go safe it is hoped that no principal books on this *first* subject will be wanting in Harvard College, from the days of Moses to these times. Men of New England, brethren, use them for yourselves and for others, and God bless you!"†

Again, after expressing great affection for the people of New England and his confidence in them as good and brave, he says, "Long may they continue such, and the spirit of luxury, now consuming us to the very marrow here at home, be kept out from them! Our likeliest means to that end will be to watch well over their youth by bestowing on them a reasonable, manly education; and securing thereto the wisest, ablest, most accomplished of men that art or wealth can obtain; for nations rise and fall by individuals, not numbers, as I think all history proveth. With ideas of this kind have I worked for the *public* library at Cambridge, in New England." The writings of Milton, Sidney, Marvell, Lock, and Harrington, almost all tinctured with republican notions, were included in Mr. Hollis's collections, and doubtless contributed largely to the spread of the spirit of republicanism among the young men of New England.

The College of William and Mary

was founded by the Episcopalians. As early as 1660 the Colonial Assembly of Virginia passed an act "for the establishment and endowment of a college." Twenty-eight years passed in inaction. After Rev. James Blair, D.D., came to the colony, in

* See pp. 130–132 of this volume.

† *New Englander*, July, 1877, p. 454.

1685, the subject was again agitated. This eminent divine "was deeply affected with the low state of both learning and piety in the colony, and, as the most effective means of elevating both, resolved, if possible, to secure the establishment of a college. With a view to this he set on foot a subscription which, being headed by the governor and his council, soon amounted to £2,500. In the first Assembly held by Nicholson, in 1691, the project of the college was warmly seconded, and recommended to the patronage of their Majesties. Mr. Blair, being appointed to present the address, crossed the ocean to execute the trust; and both William and Mary received the plan with marked favor."* The crown gave him "£2,000 and twenty thousand acres of land, and a penny a pound on tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland."† On the 14th of February, 1692, a charter for the college was granted, the Bishop of London being appointed chancellor, Mr. Blair president, and the college was named *William and Mary*. The Assembly gave "a duty on skins and furs for its plentiful endowment."‡ Jefferson says§ the Assembly also gave the college "a duty on liquors imported," and that "from these sources it received upward of £3,000 *communibus annis*." Among the most liberal contributors to the college in Great Britain was Robert Boyle, who was particularly anxious for the education of Indians. The care of the college was in the hands of a close corporation, all of the Church of England. The professors were required to subscribe to the Church of England, and the students to learn and recite the catechism. At the outbreak of the Revolution it is said‖ to have become the richest college in America, but it subsequently declined in funds and influence.

In Virginia "the son of the great landed proprietor usually grew up to manhood on his father's plantation, rode every morning attended by his servant to the school kept in the neighboring parish by a clergyman of the English Church, passed thence to William and Mary College, spent a winter at Richmond, and came back to the old hall an aspirant for a seat in the House of Deputies. His opinions respecting forms of government and forms of creed were not the result of long study or of deep meditation, but were inherited with his estate, which passed from father to son by the strictest laws of entail."¶

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* *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit.* By Rev. William B. Sprague, D.D. P. 8.
† Burk's *History of Virginia.* Vol. II, pp. 312–314. ‡ Burk. Vol. II, p. 316.
§ *Notes on Virginia.* ‖ Kiddle and Schem, p. 853.
¶ *History of the People of the United States.* By M'Master. Vol. I, p. 74.

Yale College

was founded by the Congregationalists. Rev. John Davenport, of New Haven, as early as 1652 made a proposition to the government of that colony respecting the establishment of a college within their jurisdiction. The project was delayed for a while. "We should not, however, infer," says President Dwight,* "that the colonists of Connecticut and New Haven were less friendly to learning than those of Massachusetts. The project of establishing a college in each of these colonies was very early taken up, but was checked by well-founded remonstrances from Massachusetts. It was very justly observed, that the whole population of New England was scarcely sufficient to support one institution of this kind, and that the establishment of the second would, in the end, be a sacrifice of both. These objections put a stop to the design for a considerable time." The number of students who resorted to Cambridge, Mass., for collegiate training, from the Hartford and New Haven colonies, bore a fair proportion to the students from the territory of Massachusetts; and among them were a considerable number who became eminent ministers in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Jersey. But the distance by the inconvenient methods of travel in those days was an urgent reason for a college nearer home.

In 1698 a synod of the churches devised a plan for erecting a college in Connecticut, and appointed eleven trustees, who met in New Haven, in 1700, and resolved to establish a college. Subsequently each one brought books from his library and formally devoted them to the founding of the college. This act has been regarded as the beginning of the institution. Rev. Messrs. Pierpont of New Haven, Andrew, of Milford, and Russell, of Branford, were the most active in the project. Hon. James Fitch, of Norwich, donated six hundred acres of land, in the town of Killingly, to the college, with glass and nails for the buildings; and on the 9th day of October, 1701, the Colonial Legislature granted a charter. Rev. Abram Pierson, of Killingly, was chosen president, and Saybrook was designated as the location. Disputes arose, and though the institution was commenced, yet it remained in an unsettled condition until 1716, when it was removed to New Haven, where a wooden edifice was completed in 1718. Elihu Yale, Esq., of London, Governor of the East India Company, made

* Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight's *Travels in New England and New York.* Vol. I, p. 168.

liberal donations of books, goods and money, in honor of whose generosity the institution was called Yale College.*

PRESIDENTS OF YALE COLLEGE.

When inducted.	NAMES.	Resigned.	Died.	Age.
1701	Rev. Abram Pierson, A.M.	....	1707	60
1719	Rev. Timothy Cutler, D.D.	1722	1765	82
1726	Rev. Elisha Williams, A.M.	1739	1755	60
1739	Rev. Thomas Clapp, A.M.	1766	1767	63
1766	Rev. Naphtali Daggett, D.D.	1777	1780	53
1777	Rev. Ezra Styles, D.D., LL.D.	....	1795	68
1795	Rev. Timothy Dwight, D.D., LL.D.	....	1817	65

Princeton College

was founded by the Presbyterians. Down to 1746, in the vast area between Connecticut and Virginia, there was no educational institution authorized to confer degrees. What was termed the "Log College," at Neshamany, near Philadelphia, had existed since 1726, under the care and patronage of the Presbyterians. Students were taught the classics and divinity, but degrees were not conferred. It was the germ of Princeton College. In 1746 the charter of the College of New Jersey, as it was first called, was obtained under the auspices of the Presbyterian Synod of New York, and Rev. Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabethtown, N. J., was the first president. Mr. Dickinson died the following year. In the first year there were about twenty students, boarding in the

* The following are some of the rules of Yale College, in 1720, which the students were obliged to copy, so that they could not plead ignorance of them :

"All students shall be slow to speak, and avoid (and as much as in them lies take care that others may avoid) prophane swearing, lying and needless asseverations, foolish garrulity, chiding, strife, railing, reproaching, abusive jesting, uncomely noise, spreading ill rumors, divulging secrets, and all manner of troublesome and offensive behaviour."

"No student shall, under any pretence whatsoever, use familiar acquaintance of persons of unquiet and dissolute lives, nor intermeddle with other men's business, nor intrude himself into the chambers of other students, * * * or go a fowling or hunting without the leave of his Proctor or tutor, nor shall any student be absent from his chamber after nine of the clock at night, nor watch after eleven, nor have a light before four in the morning, except of extraordinary occasions."

"Every undergradute shall be called by his surname unless he be the son of a nobleman or a knight's eldest son."

"Seeing God is the giver of all wisdome, every scholar, besides private or secret prayer, wherein all we are bound to ask wisdome, shall be present morning and evening at publick prayer in the hall at the accustomed hour, which is to be ordinarily at six of the clock in the morning, from the tenth of March to the tenth of September, and then again to the tenth of March, at sunrising, at between four and five of the clock, all the year long."

"No scholar shall use the English tongue in the collegiate school with his fellow scholars unless he be called to public exercises proper to be attended in the tongue, but scholars in their chambers and when they are together shall talk latine."

family of the president and other neighboring families, no public buildings then existing. After the death of Mr. Dickinson the students were removed to Newark and placed under the care of Rev. Aaron Burr, who succeeded in the presidency. The first commencement was held November 9, 1748, when six young men received the degree A. B. To this time the institution was without funds. Small contributions were gathered in America during several following years; and in 1753 two agents, Revs. Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies, solicited benefactions in Great Britain, which were bestowed beyond the most sanguine expectations. The inhabitants of Princeton having provided for the institution two hundred acres of wood-land, ten acres of cleared land, and £1,000 of "proclamation money," it was resolved, in 1753, to establish the college in that place. The buildings were at once erected, the principal one receiving the name of Nassau Hall, in honor of William III., Prince of Orange and Nassau. The buildings were ready for occupancy in 1656. Two days before the commencement, in 1756, President Burr died; and Rev. Jonathan Edwards D.D., of Stockbridge, Mass., father-in-law of Mr. Burr, was subsequently elected his successor. Mr. Edwards arrived at Princeton in January, 1758, and on the 22d day of the following March died of small-pox.

August 16, 1758, Rev. Samuel Davies, D.D., of Virginia, was chosen president, and entered upon his duties in 1759. In February, 1761, Mr Davies died. In June, 1761, Rev. Samuel Finlay, D.D., was chosen president, and died in 1766. Rev. John Witherspoon, D.D., LL.D., of Scotland, succeeded Mr. Finlay, in 1768. All the men prominently connected with Princeton College, as founders and presidents, except Dr. Witherspoon, were actively associated with the great Whitefieldian and Edwardian revivals of religion.

Columbia College

was founded and governed chiefly by the Episcopalians. From its founding until 1784 it was called King's College. The earliest mention of this institution is in the records of Trinity Church, in 1703, when some preliminary inquiries looking toward its establishment were made. Its founding was, however, delayed until 1746, when by a public lottery, "for the encouragement of learning," £2,250 was raised for this purpose. In 1751 the fund had increased to £3,443 18s; and in 1754 the charter was granted. Its first president, Rev. Samuel Johnson, D.D., a native of Guil-

ford, Conn., a graduate of Yale College, and the first tutor in that institution on its removal from Saybrook to New Haven, was an eminent man in the ranks of scholarship and literature. Originally a member of a Puritan Church in Connecticut, he early exhibited a predilection for the Episcopal Church, and in 1723 was received into that communion.

Eight young men constituted the first class entering this college. Among its first governors were ministers of the Reformed Dutch, the Lutheran, the French Protestant, and the Presbyterian churches. The charter provided that no laws should be adopted "to exclude any person of any religious denomination whatever from equal liberty, advantages," etc. The annual charge for tuition was equivalent to about $17 of our money, and the salary of the president was £250. Trinity Church made the president an assistant minister, with a yearly compensation of £150. In 1755, Trinity Church "granted to the college a piece of ground in 'the West Ward,' bounded by Church, Barclay and Murray streets, and running down to the North River, on condition that the president should always be a member of the Episcopal Church, and that the college prayers should be drawn from the Prayer Book. The consideration was the sum of ten shillings and an annual rental of a pepper corn." The corporation held its first meeting May 17, 1755. A building was soon erected. The corner-stone was laid August 23, 1756, by the governor, Sir Charles Hardy, who presented the college £500.

In 1760 the building was completed, and President Johnson "set up house-keeping and tuition there." The officers and students "messed" in the institution. In 1762, Dr. James Jay, of England, solicited funds for the college, collecting nearly £6,000, including a special donation of £600 from George III. An estate of £9,000 was bequeathed to the institution by Mr. Joseph Murray, and Dr. Bristowe, of England, gave a library of 1,500 volumes. In 1763 Dr. Johnston resigned the presidency and was succeeded by Rev. Myles Cooper, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. At this time a grammar school was established, in connection with the college, under Mr. Matthew Cushing, from Charlestown, Mass. In 1767, twenty-four thousand acres of land were granted to the college by the province; but the grant was unfortunately located, so that ultimately it was included in the lands ceded to Vermont, without any compensation to the college. In 1769 a medical department was founded. Alexander Hamilton was matriculated in 1774. In 1776 the institution was broken up, and British troops occupied it until the

English evacuated New York, in November, 1783. Prior to 1773 one hundred students were educated within the walls of King's College, many of whom attained the highest distinction in their professions.

Dartmouth College

was founded by Congregationalists. Elsewhere * the origin of the Moor school, kept in Lebanon, Conn., by Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D.D., for fourteen or fifteen years, was sketched. To increase its usefulness Dr. Wheelock resolved to remove it to a new locality, and have it incorporated as an academy. Offers were received from three towns in Berkshire County, Mass., and from Albany, N. Y. In New Hampshire several thousand acres of land were offered. Finally the western part of New Hampshire was fixed upon, and a charter, dated December 13, 1769, was obtained for a college, endowed partly by Governor Wentworth, and partly by private individuals, with about 40,000 acres of land. In all these steps Dr. Wheelock was the leading spirit, and in the charter he is called "the founder of the college."

In August, 1770, Dr. Wheelock took leave of Lebanon, Conn., and proceeded to Hanover, N. H., to make preparation for his family and pupils in the wilderness. Pine-trees were felled, and without nails or glass he built a log-cabin. Then with the aid of forty or fifty laborers other buildings were erected, a well dug, and about the first of November the institution was ready to commence operations. The first commencement was held in August, 1771, when four young men were graduated, one of whom, John Wheelock, son of Dr. Wheelock, became his successor in the presidency of the school and of the college; and another, Mr. Ripley, was the first professor of theology in the college. Dr. Wheelock lived to preside at seven other commencements, and conferred the usual college degrees upon seventy-two young men, of whom thirty-nine became ministers of the Gospel. Revivals of religion were enjoyed in the college in 1771 and in the winter of 1774-75. It should be added, that the Moor school, which was removed from Lebanon, Conn., was not blended with Dartmouth College, but was kept separate and distinct, though located at the same place, and it was to this school that the Earl of Dartmouth was benefactor, and not to the college. The Indian college did not succeed.

Dartmouth College was amply endowed, the State of New Hampshire giving it 78,000 acres in successive grants, and the Legislature

* See pp. 144, 191, 192.

of Vermont the town of Wheelock. This liberality made it the best endowed of any college in New England at that time. Subsequently, however, it became penniless through bad management.

Brown University,

the first Baptist college in America, was founded in 1764. It existed originally at Warren, R. I., where, in 1769, its first commencement was held. The following year it was removed to Providence. It took its name from Nicholas Brown, its most distinguished benefactor. In the disturbed condition of the country during the American Revolution its operations were suspended. This institution was projected by the Philadelphia Association of Baptists, who sent James Manning to Newport, R. I., to start it. Providence raised for it £4,280, and other towns £4,000, as early as 1770.

Rutgers College,

originally Queen's, was established at New Brunswick, N. J., in 1770, by the Dutch Reformed Church.

Hampden Sidney College,

in Prince Edward County, Va., was founded in 1775.

The University of Pennsylvania

was founded in 1747, and received its charter in 1755, in Philadelphia. Its resources were gathered by subscription in England, South Carolina, Jamaica and Philadelphia. Thomas Penn, one of the proprietaries, was the largest contributor.

The Washington and Lee University

was founded at Lexington, Va., in 1782. The first steps for its founding were taken in 1749, under the name of Augusta, and subsequently Liberty Hall, Academy, under the control of the Hanover Presbytery, which secured subscriptions and appointed trustees, attracting to it a gift from General Washington, from whom it was subsequently named.

As to the character of the studies pursued in these colleges, they were for theological as well as secular education. "At Harvard, Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, as well as New Testament Greek and catechetical theology, were taught. . . . In Yale, from the first, the Hebrew of the Old Testament was translated into Greek, and the Latin New Testament into Greek at the beginning of every recita-

tion. The Assembly's Catechism in Latin was recited every Saturday evening; Ames's *Medulla Theologiæ* Saturday mornings, and his *Cases of Conscience* Sunday mornings. Thirty years after Wollebiers's *Theology* was taught. Every student was required to study these things. There were also, from an early day, college lectures in ecclesiastical history, and a professorship of divinity. Harvard had the latter twenty-five years earlier. At Harvard, if any scholar transgressed the laws of God, or of the school, he was to be corrected or publicly admonished. One must be able 'to render the orignals of the Old and New Testaments into Latin and resolve them logically, withal being of godly life and conversation,' in order to receive the first degree." *

GRADUATES FROM COLLEGES IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

PERIODS.	Harvard.	William and Mary.	Yale.	Princeton.	Columbia.	Brown.	Dartmouth.	Rutgers.	Hampden Sidney.
1638 to 1700.....	446	No list of graduates during this period has ever been published.	.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
1700 to 1710.....	122		32	..	..	..	..	..	..
1711 to 1720.....	151		56	..	..	..	.	..	..
1721 to 1730.....	365		141	..	..	..	..	..	..
1731 to 1740.....	312		179	..	..	..	..	..	..
1741 to 1750.....	239		219	19	..	..	..	..	..
1751 to 1760.....	270		290	142	17	..	..	..	..
1761 to 1770.....	422		325	192	52	11	..	..	..
1771 to 1776.....	278		176	137	42	42	43	..	..
Total.....	2,605	....	1,418	490	111	53	43	..	..

NOTE.—The data for the above table have been collected from valuable articles in the *American Quarterly Register*, by John Farmer Esq. Vol. VII, pp. 341, 342, and Vol. IX, p. 449.

Rev. Ezra Styles, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College, in his famous Election Sermon, in 1783, said, "There are ten colleges in the United States, from New England to Virginia, inclusive, besides two intended ones in the Carolinas. The number of under-graduates in the most considerable are estimated as follows: Harvard College, 150; William and Mary, 100; Jersey, 60; Philadelphia, 30; Dartmouth, 80."

Section 3.—Education of the Ministry.

The ministers of the churches in the colonial period were almost altogether educated men—graduates either from the European or the early American colleges. Of the fifty-two settled ministers in

* Dr. Magoun in *New Englander*, 1877, p. 465.

the Province of New Hampshire in 1764, forty-eight were graduates of colleges. Of thirty-two in one county twenty-nine were graduates from Harvard College, one from Yale, and one from the University of Scotland.* In all New England the educated ministry bore about the same proportion to the whole number as in New Hampshire; and in the other colonies the uneducated ministers were a small minority. But there were no theological seminaries in those days, and the young men, after graduation, pursued the study of theology for several years in the families of the leading divines. Some of them were amply qualified as theological teachers and attracted many young men around them, training fifty and more, each, for the ministry, in their long lives.

They thus gave character to New England theology. Most of them were of the Edwardian type. Soon after the Great Awakening of 1740 Dr. Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Conn., whose pastorate extended from 1737 to 1790, began to receive theological students, and was a distinguished pioneer in this department. Dr. Smalley, of New Britain, Conn., 1737–1820; Dr. Charles Backus, of Somers, Conn., 1773–1803; Dr. Levi Hart, of Griswold, 1761–1808, and Rev. Asahel Hooker, of Goshen and Norwich, Conn., 1790–1813, were noted for this work. There were also Rev. Jedediah Mills, of Huntington, Conn., 1724–1776, the instructor of David Brainerd; Dr. Wheelock, of Lebanon, a trainer of missionaries; Dr. Stephen West, of Stockbridge, Mass., 1756–1819; Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, R. I., 1742–1803, and Dr. Nathaniel Emmons, of Franklin, Mass., 1769–1840, all eminent teachers of theological students, who did much to mold New England theology.

Dr. Asahel Hooker taught thirty-three students for the ministry; Dr. Charles Backus instructed about fifty; Dr. Asa Burton about sixty; Dr. Bellamy still more, and Dr. Emmons one hundred. Dr. Smalley had in his home only some twenty-five or thirty, but among them was Dr. Emmons himself. Hon. Oliver Ellsworth, third Chief Justice of the United States, and Jeremiah Mason, United States Senator from New Hampshire, both, on leaving Yale College, studied for a time with Dr. Smalley. The former was in the cabinet of Washington and among the foremost statesmen of his time. For the latter, Webster had great admiration, and to him acknowledged large indebtedness. Rev. Ebenezer Porter, D.D., President of Andover Theological Seminary, was trained for the ministry by Dr. Smalley; also Rev. Andrew Rawson, the great revival preacher, who led Titus Coan to Christ, afterward the missionary to Sandwich Islands, who baptized seventeen hundred converts in one day. Through his mark on these distinguished men Dr. Smalley's influence reached to the high places of the land and touched almost every important interest. Dr. Bellamy studied with Jonathan Edwards;

* *Congregational Quarterly*, July, 1873, p. 370.

Dr. Smalley studied with Dr. Bellamy; Dr. Emmons studied with Dr. Smalley. What an illustrious line! The ministerial lives of the three last were, respectively, fifty, sixty-two and seventy-one years, after licensure. Their combined ages were two hundred and fifty-three years. They preached the Gospel one hundred and sixty-five years. They were active pastors, without colleagues, one hundred and fifty-five years. They trained two hundred students at least for the ministry, and gave to the press several hundred publications. But the length of the labors of these men, wonderful as it seems in these days, is not altogether exceptional. There have been two hundred and forty Congregational ministers reared in Connecticut who have had a ministry of half a century and over. Dr. Smalley was surrounded by men of this class. On the south-west, in Southington, Rev. William Robinson was settled forty-one years. On the south, in the parish of Kensington, Rev. Benjamin Upson, D.D., forty-seven years, followed by Rev. Royal Robbins, forty-five years. On the east, in Newington, Rev. Joshua Belden was settled sixty-six years, and an active pastor fifty-eight years; and Rev. Joab Brace, D.D., sixty-one years, and an active pastor fifty-one years. These two ministers also followed each other. In Farmington, on the north, Rev. Noah Porter was settled sixty one years, and was an active pastor fifty-five years. Then, in the bordering towns, and a little further away in the same Association, were many other half-century pastorates—Rev. Dr. Chapin, of Rocky Hill, sixty years, and Dr. Perkins, of West Hartford, sixty-six years, and so on.

Dr. Smalley exercised his commanding influence through his preaching, his students and his books. In 1769 he published two sermons on Natural and Moral Inability,* which widely circulated in this country and in Great Britain. In this treatise he made a substantial contribution to the theological thinking of his age, and one which will always remain. It was a position which brought upon him furious charges from the older Calvinists, who held to the moral ruin of man's entire nature, but the "new light" made its way. Dr. Emmons has preserved an amusing record of his first experience with this new-divinity man: "When I first went as a pupil to Dr. Smalley I was full of old Calvinism, and thought I was prepared to meet the doctor on all points of his new divinity. For some time all things went on smoothly. At length he began to advance some sentiments which were new to me, or opposed to my former views. I contended with him, but he quietly tripped up my heels and there I lay at his mercy. But I had no thought of giving up so. I arose and commenced the struggle anew, but before I was aware of it I was floored again. Thus matters proceeded for some time—he gradually leading me along to the place of light and I struggling to remain in darkness. At length he gained the victory: I began to see a little light; it was a new point and seemed distant; by degrees it grew and came nearer. From that time to this the light has been increasing, and I feel assured that the great doctrines of grace which I have preached for fifty years are in strict accordance with the law and the testimony."

* *Congregational Quarterly*, July, 1873.

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL SUMMARIES.

IT is impossible at the present time to set forth a full statistical exhibit of either the churches, the communicants, or the clergy connected with them, at the close of the colonial period. The necessary data do not now exist. A few fragmentary items have, however, been gathered, after considerable research, which will afford tolerable satisfaction. They are statements in regard to particular sections.

New England.

From a discourse preached by Rev. Ezra Styles, D.D., before the Congregational clergy of Rhode Island, April 23, 1760, a number of interesting particulars have been collected respecting the ecclesiastical condition of New England.* The following, as he supposed, was the condition of the different sects. Jews, 70 persons; Moravians, 70 persons; Episcopalians, 2,100 families, or 12,600 souls. There were 27 Episcopal missions, including two "itinerances." The 27 missionaries, with three other ministers, officiated in 47 churches and places of divine worship. Six or seven of the congregations were large, others were small, some not exceeding fifteen or twenty families each. Friends, 16,000—a large estimate; Baptists, 22,000.

"At present," said Dr. Styles, "the Congregationalists have about 530 churches, which double in less than thirty years. The aged ministers now living have in their day seen 130 churches increase to 530. In 1643 the 15,000 souls in New England were cantoned into 34 churches. In 1650 there were 40 churches and 7,750 communicants. Perhaps there may now be (1760) 60,000 to 70,000 communicants. In 1696 there were 130 churches, of which 35 were in Connecticut. Now there are 530 churches, of which 170 are in Connecticut, hence the period of doubling for the churches is thirty years at furthest. In 115 years we have increased 500 churches upon 34 churches."

* See *American Quarterly Register*, August, 1834, pp. 20–26.

Accompanying this discourse there is a list of the clergy of New England, each given by name with his residence and denominational relations, from which the following table has been compiled.

CLERGY IN NEW ENGLAND IN 1760.

DENOMINATIONS.	Maine	N. H.	Mass.	R. I.	Conn.	Total.
Congregational	24	39	291	11	165	530
Presbyterian	..	4	2	..	2	8
Episcopal	..	2	16	6	24	48
Baptist	..	..	20	19	3	42
Friends	3	4	15	14	1	37
Total	27	48	344	50	195	664

NOTE.—Vermont had but a few scattered inhabitants in 1760.

Province of New York in 1771.*

The number of inhabitants in the colony was estimated at 130,000.

Dutch Reformed.—There were 23 Dutch Reformed ministers, who had congregations all of which were considerably large. Most of the ministers had two, and some three churches. There were besides 24 vacant congregations, some of which were of respectable size, and were able to support the Gospel if they could have obtained ministers.

Presbyterians.—There were 45 Presbyterian clergymen in the province, most of whom had fixed charges, and three of whom had none. Many of the congregations were large. There were 15 vacant congregations. Considerable numbers of Presbyterians were scattered in the new settlements who were not collected into congregations.

Episcopalians.—There were 21 clergymen in the colony, some of whom had large congregations. The churches in New York City, "as a corporation, had a very large estate in lands in and adjoining the city, granted them by Lord Cornbury," the greater part of which, however, some persons for a time claimed as their right; besides a large tract of land in Gloucester County, which they held free of encumberance. This tract consisted of 25,000 acres, and was granted March 31, 1770.

Lutherans.—There were 3 Lutheran ministers in the colony, and 10 vacant congregations.

Anabaptists.—There were 12 Anabaptist ministers in the province, and 4 vacant congregations.

* *American Quarterly Register*, August, 1834, pp. 26, 27.

There were also 2 *French Protestant* congregations, 3 *Moravian*, 17 *Quaker* meeting houses, 1 congregation of *Jews*, and a number of separate or lay preachers. There were no *Roman Catholics*, as the public exercise of their religion in the province was prohibited by law.

The Middle States, in 1759.*

Presbyterians.—This body previously consisted of two synods, the New York and Philadelphia; but in May, 1758, they were united in one, and called the New York and Philadelphia Synod. The following were the presbyteries and the number of ministers in each:

Hanover, Va.	14	Philadelphia, Pa	12
Donegal, Md.	11	New Brunswick, N. J.	11
Lewistown, Pa.	6	New York, N. Y.	21
Newcastle, Pa.	11	Suffolk, L. I.	13

Total—8 presbyters and 99 ministers.

Dutch Reformed.—One coetus, or synod, with 20 ministers.

Lutherans.—In New York, 2 ministers; in Philadephia, 4.

French Protestants.—Two ministers, in New York City.

Independents.—On Long Island, three ministers.

Baptists.—In New York, 3; New Jersey, 5; Pennsylvania, 4 ministers.

Episcopalians.—In New York, 7 ministers; New Jersey, 5; Pennsylvania, 4 ministers.

English Missionaries in America, in 1762.*

The Society for Propagating the Gospel employed the following number of missionaries in this country;

Massachusetts	8	New Jersey	8
New Hampshire	1	Pennsylvania	9
Connecticut	16	North Carolina	5
Rhode Island	4	South Carolina	4
New York	10	Georgia and Bahama	2

Total, 68 missionaries, besides about a dozen school-masters.

In 1775 all the foregoing denominations had considerably increased. Rev. Robert Baird, D.D., who devoted very close attention to this subject, gave the following statistics of the number of ministers and churches at that time as the result of his investiga-

*American Quarterly Register, August, 1834, p. 26.

tions. It is doubtful whether any thing more satisfactory can now be found :

STATISTICS OF CHURCHES AND MINISTERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1775.*

DENOMINATIONS.	Ministers.	Churches.
Episcopalians	250	300
Baptists	350	380
Congregationalists	575	700
Presbyterians	140	300
Lutherans	25	60
German Reformed	25	60
Reformed Dutch	25	60
Associate	13	20
Moravians	12	8
† Methodists	20	30
Roman Catholics	26	52
Total	1,461	1,970

POPULATION IN THE COLONIAL ERA.‡

COLONIES.	1637.	1654.	1665.	1700.	1750.	1775.
Maine	.....	.....	.....	4,000	16,000	45,000
New Hampshire	.....	.....	.....	10,000	30,000	90,000
Vermont	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,000	40,000
Massachusetts	7,912	16,026	23,467	66,000	190,000	280,000
Plymouth	549	2,941	5,320	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island	.....	1,959	.....	10,000	32,000	50,000
Connecticut	.....	3,186	.....	30,000	110,000	195,000
New York	.....	.....	10,000	18,000	72,000	175,000
New Jersey	.....	.....	.....	15,000	60,000	120,000
Pennsylvania	.....	.....	.....	15,000	130,000	275,000
Delaware	.....	.....	.....	5,000	20,000	35,000
Maryland	400	.....	16,000	25,000	90,000	160,000
Virginia	20,000	.....	30,000	75,000	200,000	360,000
North Carolina	.....	.....	.....	8,000	80,000	200,000
South Carolina	.....	.....	.....	7,000	50,000	90,000
Georgia	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,000	25,000
Total White	.....	.....	.....	288,000	1,100,000	2,140,000
Free Colored and Slaves	.....	.....	.....	32,000	220,000	500,000
Aggregate	.....	.....	.....	320,000	1,320,000	2,640,000

NOTE.—The number of Indians in New England in 1675, according to Mr. Bancroft,‖ was about 30,000; but the white population, according to the above estimates, was not much less than 70,000 at that time. The foreign increment for eighty years before the Revolution was not large. Savage (Introduction to his *Genealogical Dictionary*) says : "I suppose that nineteen twentieths of the people of these New England colonies in 1775 were descendants of those found here in 1692." The proportion was probably not much larger in other colonies. Dr. Franklin thought that of the one million English souls in North America in 1751 not eighty thousand had been brought over the sea.

* *Religion in America.* By Rev. Robert Baird, D.D. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1856. P. 210.

† Added by the author of this volume.

‡ From Seaman's *Essays on the Progress of Nations.* New York : Charles Scribner. 1852. Pp. 579-583.

‖ *History of the United States.* Vol. II, p. 93

Galileo. 18. The Thirty Years' War begins.
Kepler. 48. Peace of Westphalia.
24–42. Richelieu. 43. Louis XIV.
Leibnitz. 13. Peace of Utrecht.
85. Revocation of Edict of Nantes.
87. Habeas corpus. 15. Louis XV.
Shakespeare. Milton. Locke.
88. Second Revolution.
88. William and Mary, and after the death of Mary, 94. William III.
Bacon. 49. Cromwell.
Newton.
3. James VI. / James I. 25. Charles I. 42. The Revolution. 60. The Restoration. 60. Charles II. 85. James II. 2. Anne. 14. George I. 27. George II. 60. George III.
Voltaire. 74. Louis XVI. 89. French Revolution. 93. Reign of Terror.
Dr. Johnson. Burke.
65. The Rockingham Ministry.
Chatham. Pitt. Fox.
55. War between France and England.
65. The Stamp Act.

9. Second Charter granted. 42. Berkeley's administration.
12. The Third Charter. 44. Indian massacre. 76. Bacon's Rebellion.
19. House of Burgesses established. 77. Virginia becomes a Proprietary government. 32. Birth of Washington. 65. The Virginia Resolutions.
7. VIRGINIA colonized by the London Company at Jamestown. 51. First Navigation Act. 84. Royal government re-established.
83. Seth Sothel, governor.
24. Dissolution of the London Company. 50. NORTH CAROLINA settled by the English. 9. Arrival of the German immigrants.
63. Grant made to Lord Clarendon.
85. Sir John Archdale, governor.
19. Introduction of Slavery. 65. Sir John Yeamans, governor. 11. The Coree War.
John Smith, governor. 77. Culpepper's rebellion. 29. Final separation of the Carolinas.
34. MARYLAND settled by the Catholics under Lord Baltimore. 91. Maryland becomes a royal government. 75. Charles Calvert.
39. Representative government established. 92. Lionel Copley.
14. NEW YORK settled by the Dutch. 38. Governor Kief. 64. Taken by the English. 91. Slaughter, governor. 44. Negro plot. 58. Fall of Louisburg.
Berkeley and Carteret. 92. Fletcher. 1. Cornbury. 32. Cosby, governor. 75. Declaration of Rights.
47. Stuyvesant. 70. Lovelace. 98. Bellamont. 54. French and Indian War.
56. New York City founded. 74. Edmund Andros. 65. First Colonial Congress assembles at New York.
25. Minuits, governor.
38. Wilmington settled by the Swedes. 82. DELAWARE separated from New York.
Union of East and West Jersey. Dr. Benjamin Franklin.
23. NEW JERSEY settled by the Dutch.
81. First General Assembly. 38. Royal government established.
29. NEW HAMPSHIRE settled. 79. New Hampshire as a distinct colony. 98. United with Massachusetts. 20. Introduction of tea. 41. New Hampshire finally separated from Mass. 67. The tea tax.
30. Boston founded.
61. Writs of Assistance.
73. The Boston "Tea Party."
30. MAINE settled. 76. King Philip's defeat and death.
4. First newspaper. 44. King George's War. 75. Lexington.
20. MASSACHUSETTS settled by the Puritans at Plymouth. 84. Massachusetts loses her charter. 45. Louisburg taken. 74. Boston Port Bill.
30. Winthrop, governor. 90. First issue of paper money 68. General Gage arrives in Boston.
38. Harvard College founded. 90. King William's War.
39. First printing-press set up at Cambridge. 2. Queen Anne's War. 59. Quebec taken. 75. Bunker Hill.
92. Witchcraft excitement. 1. First post-office. 70. Tumult in Boston.
36. RHODE ISLAND settled by Roger Williams.
39. Newport founded. 87. Rhode Island joined to New York.
37. Pequod War. 89. The hiding of the charter.
30. CONNECTICUT granted to the earl of Warwick.
35. Saybrook founded. 1. Yale College founded.
33. Hartford founded. 62. New charter granted.
70. SOUTH CAROLINA settled by the English.
Locke's Constitution adopted. 2. Expedition against St. Augustine.
86. Arrival of the Huguenots. 29. Royal government established.
76. Independence.
55. Braddock's defeat.
82. PENNSYLVANIA settled by the Quakers under Penn. 74. Second Congress assembles at Philadelphia.
92. Penn loses his commission.
33. GEORGIA settled by the English under Oglethorpe.
52. Royal government established.

COLONIAL PERIOD.
A. D. 1607 – 1776.
CHART II.

II.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

PERIOD I.—From 1776 to 1800.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVOLUTION AND THE CHURCHES.

SEC. 1. Union Through Suffering.
" 2. Patriotism of the Clergy.
" 3. Unfavorable Effects.
" 4. Civil Troubles.
SEC. 5. Sundering of Ecclesiastical Ties.
" 6. The Churches After the War.
" 7. Revivals of Religion Rare.

THE colonial planting and training had its natural consummation in the American Revolution. Wise European statesmen had foreseen it. The colonies of Jamestown and Massachusetts possessed the genius and daring which ushered in the tedious ordeal, and sustained it from Lexington to Yorktown. In the Colonial, the Revolutionary, and the National eras the American people bear the same impress and exhibit an essential unity of drift and character. The problems of free conscience and free citizenship have struggled for solution, with improving phases, from the first settlements until now. What an arena for working out these high aspirations of humanity! Struggles which had convulsed the conservative institutions of the Old World were renewed amid the semi-conservative conditions of the New World. But, even here, only by the throes of a mighty revolution could the better conditions intended by Providence for humanity be attained.

Section 1.—Union Through Suffering.

A union of the colonies was a condition precedent to American nationality. The seed-thought germinated in the mind of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., of Boston, and was by him first cast into the mind of Samuel Adams. In Dr. Mayhew's church there had been a communion of the churches. The next day, on the streets of Boston, Mayhew met Adams, and, placing his hand upon his shoulder, exclaimed, "We have just had a communion of the churches, now let us have a union of States." Such was the genesis, first, of the Colonial, and, later, of the Federal Union

One nationality was essential to constitutional liberty in North America. The alternative was petty divisions, waste, and wars—the story of continental Europe repeated. France and England had competed for the possession of the North American Continent—the former the champion of intellectual and political subserviency to the papacy, and the latter the asserter of enlightened freedom. The contest of these two great powers ended in 1763, when France ceded her Canadian possessions to England, abandoned her long military cordon along the northern and western frontiers, and thus left the Atlantic colonies in assured fealty to the English crown. A great impulse was at once given to emigration, and the country rapidly filled.

But no sooner were the colonies relieved from the harassing presence of the French–Indian hostilities than they became restless under the restraints of dependency and sighed for relief from foreign taxation and dominion. Disputes arose, the most prominent, in reference to "The Stamp Act," continuing eighteen years. England's right to regulate the *foreign* commerce was not questioned, but "The Stamp Act" violated *domestic* independence. Claiming that Parliament had no jurisdiction within their territory, the colonies refused to submit. Common interests impelled them to a league of domestic amity and fraternal resistance to foreign dictation. Gradually they became fused and united; but time was required.

The organization of the scattered and disjointed American colonies under a general government was brought about by a long series of agitations, struggles, and triumphs, extending through a period of about forty years—from the French and Indian wars to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The central event of this period was the war of the Revolution, a movement, which, considered either in respect to its immediate or its more remote consequences, Americans have proudly regarded as the greatest event of modern times. When it occurred it attracted universal attention, taxing the sagacity and the energies of the greatest English statesmen. In the colonies resources unknown before were developed, surprising even the most sanguine and determined champions of independence, and resulting in the establishment of a new Western Empire on the principles of freedom and progress. In both hemispheres it inaugurated a long series of progressive movements and revolutions, emancipating and elevating society, establishing law and authority on a new basis, and investing it with an ever-increasing importance.

To sketch in detail the manifold calamities of the war, the ravaging of the country, the burning of towns, the spirit of fury, vindictiveness and hatred which fired the hearts of multitudes, with many other features of this great contest, does not come within the scope of this volume. And yet these things require some allusion because of their influence upon the cause of religion. Indeed, the war was an event of great religious as well as political significance. It was detrimental to morals and religion, opening the door for French infidelity by intimate affiliation with that people during the struggle, and seriously crippling and enfeebling the churches for more than a generation.

There was no department of society, public, private, social, secular, or religious, which did not suffer. The country was impoverished and exhausted. The pecuniary expenses of the war amounted to not less than $170,000,000—a greater outlay, in proportion to the wealth of the country, than twenty times that sum would be at the present time.* A very considerable portion of this amount remained in the form of a debt. The sacrifice of human life was also great, not less than eighty thousand Americans perishing, or one for every forty of the inhabitants. Twelve or fifteen cities and numerous villages were burned to ashes.† Industry was fatally crippled, and demands were made upon the resources of the country which but few families could afford to sustain. The virtuous sons of many households were transformed into dissipated, discontented, ruined men. Numerous houses of worship were either destroyed or so seriously desecrated and injured as to be unfit for future use. These were the common sufferings of the people.

Section 2.—Patriotism of the Clergy.

The parish ministers in those days commanded unbounded influence and profound respect, and effectively molded thought in civil

* Massachusetts, with about 240,000 inhabitants, expended in the war about £818,000; for £490,000 of it she received no reimbursement. Connecticut, with a population of 146,000, expended upward of £400,000. Massachusetts annually, according to Dr. Trumbull, sent into the field 5,500 men, and in one year 7,000 men. Connecticut had about 3 000 men in the field, and for some time 6,000. In some years these two colonies alone had 10,000 men in actual service.

† The city of New York was nearly ruined by the war. The very week of the capture of the city five hundred houses were destroyed by fire, and three years later three hundred more. During the seven years of the war there was little building, and the burnt districts were blackened heaps. The commerce was gone; the treasury, what was it? and her citizens were starving in the wilds whither they had fled.

as well as ecclesiastical matters. The reverential regard for the clergy* of the early colonial times had not much waned in New England at the time of the Revolution.

Politico-religious sermons were early introduced into New England. As early as 1633 the governor and council of the Massachusetts Bay Colony began to appoint one of the clergy to preach on the day of election—which was the first of the long list of "Election Sermons." Governor Winthrop's critical notice of the discourse of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, in June, 1641, is the earliest sketch of an Election Sermon now extant. By the charter of William and Mary, October 7, 1691, the last Wednesday in May was established as "election day," and it remained so until the Revolution. This was the date on which the new General Court, as the Legislature of Massachusetts has ever been called, assembled, and the election sermon was at the opening of the session. Another sermon was also delivered, a little time after, on what was called the *artillery election day*. The sermons on these occasions discussed politico-religious topics, were printed, and widely circulated. They reasoned, instructed, and discussed speculative questions of government, "when there was nothing in practice which could give any grounds for forming parties."

These discourses were a remarkable feature in the opening of the war of the Revolution. In his speech on conciliating the colonies, March 22, 1775, Edmund Burke referred to the effects of this custom. He said:

> It contributed no mean part toward the growth of the untractable spirit of the colonies—I mean their education. In no country in the world, perhaps, is the law so general a study. . . . All who read, and most do read, endeavor to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent book-seller, that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on law transported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England. General Gage marks this disposition very particularly. He states that all the people in his government are lawyers, or smatterers in law.

The annual election sermons widely promoted the study of political ethics, which had become a prominent feature in New England history in the middle of the last century, and laid the foundation for that "earnestness which consciousness of right begets, and those appeals to principle which distinguished the colonies." The highest glory of the American Revolution, in the estimation of Hon.

* See pp. 153-156.

John Quincy Adams, was the ripe fruitage of this old custom: "It connected, with one indissoluble bond, the principles of civil government with the principles of Christianity."

Occupying a position of such eminent respect and influence in society, it is not strange that the clergy shared the sympathy of the people in the civil struggles through which they were passing, and that "The Pulpit of the Revolution" came to be one of the great factors of the times in the Middle and the New England colonies. God was invoked in the civil assemblies, and the teachers of religion were called upon for counsel from the Bible. Sermons were preached, religion and politics were closely united, and with Bibles and bayonets they entered into the struggle. "This was the secret of that moral energy which sustained the Republic in its material weakness against superior numbers and discipline, and all the power of England. To these sermons the State fixed its *imprimatur*, and thus they were handed down to future generations with a twofold claim to respect."*

The first sermon bearing directly upon the new era dates back to the inception of the pre-Revolutionary struggle. In 1750, Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., the foremost minister of Boston, preached "*A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-resistance to the Higher Powers.*" In 1766 Rev. Charles Chauncy, D.D., of Boston, preached a thanksgiving sermon on the repeal of the Stamp Act, in which political matters were ably handled. In 1770 Rev. Samuel Cook, D.D., of Cambridge, preached an election sermon upon "*Civil Government for the Good of the People.*" In 1774 Rev. William Gaden, of Roxbury, preached upon the "*Christian Duty of Resistance to Tyrants; Prepare for War; Appeal to Heaven.*" In 1775 Rev. Samuel Langdon, D.D., of Watertown, Mass., preached upon "*Government, Corrupted by Vice; Recovered by Righteousness.*" In 1778 Rev. Phillips Paxson, of Chelsea, preached a sermon upon "*Popular Government, the True Spirit of Liberty.*"

These are typical specimens of the numerous sermons by the New England clergy. Those of the Middle States were not backward. While all classes of citizens entered heartily into the war, the clergy, as a body, were pre-eminent for their attachment to liberty, sharing in the patriotic and self-denying spirit of the struggle, encouraging and stimulating the hearts of the people. The pulpits of the land rang with the notes of freedom. Thanksgiving, fast-day and election sermons abounded in pointed, patriotic appeals, in

* *The Pulpit of the American Revolution.* Preface by J. W. Thornton. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1860.

clear expositions of Divine law and its application to civil governments and to rulers.

The Martial Spirit.

Interesting examples may be cited. The town of Sturbridge, in Massachusetts, "voted to provide four half-barrels of powder, five hundredweight of lead, and five hundred flints," as a donation to the public service. At another meeting, held a month later, the selectmen were instructed to furnish still more. On this occasion the pastor of the Congregational Church "came forward and proposed to pay for one cask of powder himself," at a cost of about one-fifth part of his salary, and a Baptist deacon, in the absence of his minister, became responsible "for bullets to match." In Danvers, Mass., the deacon of the parish was elected captain of the minute-men, and the minister his lieutenant. The company, it is said, after its field exercise, would sometimes repair to the "meeting-house" to hear a patriotic sermon, or would partake of an entertainment at the town-house, where the zealous "sons of liberty" would exhort them to fight bravely for God and their country. At Lunenburg, Mass., the minute company, after drill, marched to a public house for an entertainment, honored by the presence of patriotic clergy from adjacent towns, and then marched in procession to the "meeting-house," where a sermon was delivered. Nor was the First Church, Boston, at all behind in patriotism. It voted to melt up the lead weights upon the church clock for bullets and use other metal in their stead. The parish kept up its stated worship during all the troublous period.

It was said that the great revivalist, Rev. William Tennent, who, like Enoch, "walked with God," was a most strenuous asserter of the liberties of his country, both in council and in the field. Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, of New Jersey, preached a sermon in May, 1776, in which he entered fully into the great political questions of the day. Rev. Mr. Miller, of Dover, N. J., preached from these words: "We have no part in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse; every man to his tent, O Israel." Rev. Robert Davidson, of Philadelphia, at the commencement of the war preached before several military companies from these words: "For there fell down many slain; because the war was of God."

Nor was their zeal in word only. In numerous instances the younger ministers girded on their country's armor and fought with carnal weapons, while others served as chaplains, and others still performed the best practical service at home.

Of Rev. John Craighead it is said that "he fought and preached alternately." Rev. Dr. Cooper was captain of a military company. Rev. John Blair Smith, president of Hampden-Sidney College, was captain of a company that rallied to support the retreating Americans after the battle of Cowpens. Rev. James Hall commanded a company that armed against Cornwallis. Rev. Wm. Graham rallied his own neighbors to dispute the passage of Rockfish Gap with Tarleton and his British dragoons. Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green was an orderly sergeant. Rev. Dr. Moses Hodge served in the army of the Revolution. Rev. Cotton Mather Smith, of Sharon, Conn., entered the army as chaplain, where his conduct was so exemplary that he won the special confidence of his commander, General Schuyler.

Many of the clergy suffered for their patriotism. Rev. John Rodgers, D.D., was forced to absent himself from New York until after the close of the war; Rev. Mr. McKnight, of Shrewsbury, N. J., was carried off a captive; Richards, of Rahway, N. J., took warning and left; McCalla was confined for months in a loathsome prison ship, near Quebec; Azel Roe, of Woodbridge, N. J., was confined, a prisoner, in the old Sugar House; Rev. John Bosborugh, of Allentown, N. J., was shot down in cold blood by a party of Hessians to whom he had surrendered; and Rev. Samuel Mills, of Saybrook, Conn., was wounded and taken prisoner.

Peters, of Blue Law Notoriety.

In Connecticut the war spirit ran high, and every body took sides. Rev. Samuel Andrew Peters, an Episcopal minister, of Hebron, used his Tory pen and influence in a way very offensive to "the Sons of Liberty." They determined he should be stopped. General Peters often minutely described the mobs which he witnessed. He was a nephew of the victim, though not a Tory. Men came on horseback from the neighboring towns, and the reverend gentleman was marched down to the central green, where a pot of tar was simmering, with a bag of feathers close at hand. These articles, however, were not used, because from the horse-block, under the pressure, Rev. Mr. Peters read a recantation. The recantation, however, did not hold, and after three repetitions Mr. Peters fled to England, where he revenged himself by writing a *History of Connecticut, by a Gentleman of the Province.* It was indeed a revenge, for, says an eminent divine, "It has been impossible to squelch the lies of that book." His tales of the Blue Laws—base fabrica-

tions*—have been repeatedly disproved and as often re-asserted.† "Even annihilation seems to have had no effect upon them."

Prayer in Congress.

The voice of the clergy was also heard, as chaplains, in halls of legislation. By the request of the first Congress, Rev. Jacob Duché, D.D., of Philadelphia, offered prayer at the opening of its deliberations, a copy of which has been transmitted to me to-day.

Dr. Duché preached a sermon on the death of Hon. Peyton Randolph, first president of the Congress, and also on the occasion of a public fast, both of which, says Bishop White, were strongly imbued with a patriotic spirit, and led to his appointment as chaplain to Congress. Dr. Duché subsequently vacillated, however, when the British took possession of Philadelphia, and left the country.

It must be confessed that the preaching of the Gospel and the influence of the ministry, in those days, were "rather martial than sanctifying and spiritual." It seems, however, to have been unavoidable. The cause of the country was believed to be a just one and divinely sanctioned. The resources of the country, in men and means, were felt to be small. In some of the colonies there was great hesitation, in others the royalist party was numerous and confident, and their enemy had been long accustomed to victory on sea and land. The odds were fearful indeed, and every influence was needed to support the cause of independence. The colonial pulpit, having always wielded immense power, improved their opportunities to address the people, thinly scattered over a large territory, and accustomed to assemble only on the Sabbath. As a natural result, in the course of such exciting scenes, every-where engrossing the attention of all, ecclesiastical matters received little attention. In some cases, however, and probably not a few, the more devout members of the churches were drawn nearer to God in prayer, and days of fasting and prayer were numerous and well observed. But in many localities the means of grace were wholly suspended for a long time and the religious safeguards were broken down. In cities occupied by the enemy the pastors fled. Out of nineteen church edifices in New York city only nine were fit for worship when the war closed.

* Hon. J. S. Peters, M.D., LL.D., ex-Governor of Connecticut, says of them, that they are "apochryphal and ludicrous," and never should be quoted as of "historical authority."

† See pp. 115, 116.

Section 3.—Unfavorable Effects.

The unfavorable influence of the war upon the different religious bodies deserves more extended notice.

The *Congregational* churches, being confined almost wholly to New England, suffered chiefly in Boston during the possession of the city by the English. All their pastors except two, Drs. Samuel Mather and Andrew Eliot, left during the siege. In a few other localities pastors supposed to be favorable to the royal cause were dismissed from their churches.

The Episcopal Church

was the greatest sufferer. All its pastors in Boston left, with General Howe, on the memorable 17th of March, 1776. The colonial clergy of the English Church, being almost wholly foreigners and loyal to the British Crown, mostly deserted the country. In Virginia this denomination suffered most seriously. No statesmen were more forward in the cause of the Revolution than those of Virginia, notwithstanding a majority of its people were Episcopalians. A part of the Episcopal clergy, among whom may be mentioned Rev. Messrs. Bracken, Belmaine, Buchanan, Jarratt, Griffith and Davis, were assured friends of the colonies. Rev. Mr. Mühlenburg became a colonel in the American Army, served through the war and retired with the rank of brigadier. But most of the clergy fled to England. The celebrated Virginia rector of those times, the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, in a letter to Rev. John Wesley, in 1773, said that within the limits of the Virginia Colony there were ninety-five parishes, all of which except one were supplied with clergymen. At a later period the historian of the Episcopal Church in Virginia gave the following statistical statement:

> When the colonists first resorted to arms Virginia in her 61 counties contained 95 parishes, 164 churches and chapels, and 91 clergymen. When the contest was over, she came out of the war with a large number of her churches destroyed or injured irreparably, with 23 of her 95 parishes extinct or forsaken, and of the remaining 72, 34 were destitute of ministerial services, while of her 91 clergymen 28 only remained who had lived through the storm; and these with eight others, who came into the State soon after the struggle terminated, supplied 36 of the parishes. Of these 28, 15 only had been enabled to continue in the churches which they supplied prior to the commencement of hostilities, and 13 had been driven from their cures by violence or want.*

* Hawks's *Contributions*, pp. 153, 154.

The Methodist Church.

Methodism was scarcely ten years old in America when national independence was declared, and it was not organized as the Methodist Episcopal Church until eight years later; but it was already an active, earnest and growing power. The first Methodist missionaries coming from England, and ecclesiastically under the direction of Rev. John Wesley, public suspicion was, naturally, provoked against them, occasioning in some cases severe suffering. All but three of those who came from England—Asbury, Dempster and Whatcoat—left the country at the outbreak of the Revolution. But the imputation of disloyalty was unfounded. Wesley, however, gave some occasion to this suspicion by his "Calm Address to the American Colonies"—an abridgment of his friend Dr. Johnson's "Taxation No Tyranny"—breathing a spirit of devout loyalty. This was before the war, and it is due to Wesley to say that when the war really began he was on the side of the colonists. The day after the news of the battles of Lexington and Concord came to England, Wesley wrote to Lord North and the Earl of Dartmouth, saying:

> I am a High Churchman, bred up in my childhood in the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance; and yet, in spite of my long-rooted prejudices, I cannot avoid thinking these an oppressed people, asking for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow. But, waiving this, I ask, is it common sense to use force toward the Americans?

Nevertheless the Methodists came to be regarded as a dangerous people. The remarkable prudence and caution of Rev. Francis Asbury,* the chief minister of the denomination in America, only for a short time shielded him. He was compelled to remain comparatively quiet during a considerable portion of that long and terrible struggle.

In some sections of the country American-born Methodist preachers, such as Waters, Garrettson, Cooper, Hartley, Boyer, Gatch, Abbott and others, in the midst of many embarrassments and stern conflicts, pursued their itinerant rounds, zealously exhorting, preaching and building up societies.

In Maryland, where the Methodist preachers were the most numerous, the civil magistrates seemed to be disposed to construe every

* Mr. Asbury was arrested near Baltimore, and fined, not because he had been guilty of any overt act against the new government, but because he, in common with his brethren, was suspected of loving the Church of England, and, therefore, of entertaining dangerous political views. He afterward was released and discontinued preaching, living in Delaware two years in retirement.

legal restriction vigorously against them. "Some of the preachers were mulcted or fined, and others were imprisoned, for no other offense than traveling and preaching the Gospel; and others were bound over in bonds and heavy penalties and sureties not to preach in this or that county. Several were arrested and committed to the common jail; others were personally insulted or badly abused; some were beaten with stripes and blows nigh unto death and carried their scars down to the grave." Freeborn Garrettson was one of the sufferers, being committed to prison several times in different counties, and also beaten and wounded, to the shedding of blood, nigh unto death. Nathan Forest and William Wren were committed to jail; another was treated to a coat of tar and feathers; Joseph Hartley was but under penal bonds of five hundred pounds not to preach again in Queen Ann's County; and in Talbot County the same preacher was whipped by a young lawyer and imprisoned; Caleb Pedicord was whipped and badly injured on the public road.* In the midst of these indignities and sufferings they toiled and triumphed.

At the close of the war it was found that the number of Methodist preachers had more than doubled, and the communicants had increased two and a half fold. But it was the result of an unsurpassed zeal and prudence in formidable difficulties. Probably no other religious body can show such a record of progress during this trying period.

The German Reformed Church

was well represented in the Revolutionary struggle. There were German regiments and generals of "the line," like De Kalb, De Woedtke and Baron Steuben, the latter of this communion. Some German ministers were ardent advocates of Independence, as Rev. John H. Weikel, of Montgomery County, Pa., and Rev. C. D. Weyberg, D.D., of Philadelphia, who was imprisoned for his patriotism, and his church occupied by British soldiers. He had not only preached patriotic sermons to the American soldiers, but had subsequently addressed the Hessians on the justice of the American cause; and it was said that had he not been silenced the whole body of those mercenaries would have left the British service. On the first Sunday after his liberation he suggestively addressed his congrega-

*The Assembly of Maryland at last became satisfied that these preachers had no treasonable aims, and allowed them to exercise their functions without taking the oath of allegiance. During the remainder of the war the few Methodist preachers who remained in the country preached freely in Maryland.

tion on the words, "O God, the heathen have come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled." Psa. 79. 1. Schlatter was imprisoned for his sympathy with the American cause. Hendel was accompanied by armed men, when he preached at Lykens Valley, to protect him from the Indians made hostile by British influence. Rev. John Conrad Buckner, a military officer during the French and Indian war, had become a minister of the Gospel, and rendered great service to the Revolutionary army. Rev. J. C. A. Helffenstein, pastor at Lancaster, when the captive Hessians were kept there preached to them on, "For thus saith the Lord, ye have sold yourselves for nought; and ye shall be redeemed without money." *

The Presbyterian Church.

"The influence of the war upon the condition and prospects of the Presbyterian Church throughout the country was most disastrous. Its members were almost all decided patriots, and its ministers almost to a man were accounted arch-rebels. Their well-known views and sympathies made them especially obnoxious to the enemy, and to be known as a Presbyterian was to incur all the odium of a 'Whig.' It is not strange, therefore, that they should have been the marked victims of hostility, or that they should have been in many cases mercilessly molested in property and person. In initiating the Revolution and in sustaining the patriotic resistance of their countrymen to illegal tyranny the ministers of the Presbyterian Church bore a conspicuous and even a foremost part. . . . They preached the duty of resisting tyrants. They cheered their people in the dreary periods of the conflict by inspiring lofty trust in the God of nations. Some of them were engaged personally in the army; some occupied a place in the civil councils; others were personal sufferers from the vengeance of an exasperated foe; and others still sealed their devotion to their country by their blood." †

"The church edifices were often taken possession of by an insolent soldiery and turned into hospitals or prisons, or perverted to still baser uses, as stables or riding-schools. The church at Newtown, N. J., had its steeple sawed off, and was used as a prison and guard-house till it was torn down, and its siding was used for the soldiers' huts. The church at Crumpond was burned to save it from being

* *Historic Manual of the Reformed Church.* By Rev. Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D. Lancaster, Pa. 1885. Pp. 229–232.

† *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D. Vol. I, p. 180.

occupied by the enemy. That of Mount Holly was burned by accident or design. The one at Princeton was taken possession of by the Hessian soldiers and stripped of its pews and gallery for fuel. A fire-place was built in it and a chimney carried up through its roof. . . . The church at Westfield was injured by the enemy and its bell carried off to New York." Similar facts might be given concerning the churches at Babylon, L. I., New Windsor, Morristown, Elizabethtown, N. J., etc. We have previously stated that the enemy took possession of the churches in New York. They were used for prisons and as stables for horses. Ethan Allen said that the filth which accumulated in one of which he knew "was intolerable." "The loathsome victims of disease, foul with their own excrements, lay stretched upon the floor."

Even where church edifices were unmolested the congregations were often scattered, the ordinances of religion ceased; and, in numerous instances after the war, churches had to be reorganized. Such pastors as Rodgers, of New York; Richards, of Rahway; Prime, of Huntington; Duffield, of Philadelphia, etc., were compelled to flee for their lives, while Caldwell, of Elizabethtown; Allen, of Midway, Ga., and others fell victims of the fierce conflict. Schools and colleges were broken up or suspended. Young men who should have entered the ministry were turned aside from their purpose. Religion suffered serious decay, and the churches presented a wide scene of desolation. The church at Newtown, N. J., is said to have numbered only five members at the close of the war, and many others were in the same condition. The session of the Synod of Philadelphia and New York, in 1780, was held with only fifteen ministers and four elders, and in 1781 with only twenty-one ministers and four elders.

At the close of the war the country was impoverished, the currency had depreciated, and the churches were in a state of profound religious apathy, from which, for some years, it seemed impossible to arouse them. Other denominations passed through similar privations, especially the Baptists, who were stanch supporters of the rebellion against Great Britain.

Section 4.—Civil Troubles After the War.

But the war itself was not the only cause of embarrassment to the churches. A long series of national difficulties, dissensions and distractions followed. The condition of the country was not one

of entire quiet and repose, even after the peace of 1783, notwithstanding the relief from the tumult and vexations of war. The achievement of national independence brought with it new and more difficult responsibilities as well as greater advantages. Relief from external enemies was followed by internal clamors and animosities, which sprang out of complications in adjusting the civil polity. The task of harmonizing the foreign relations was not an easy one, but it was even more difficult to satisfactorily arrange the internal affairs—questions of trade, of finance, and the relations of the States both to each other and to the general government. Difficulties soon arose with Great Britain in regard to the treaty, taxing the wisdom and firmness of the best statesmen. The financial distress, too, which grew out of the impoverished condition of the country, the paper currency and its depreciation, and the enforcement of the taxes upon a people who had been reduced to such sad extremes, kept the nation in a state of constant irritation and despondency.

Several local rebellions broke out; the affair at King's Mountain, Virginia, and soon after another in Washington County, Virginia (1785); the insurrection against the Pennsylvania authorities by the Connecticut settlers in Wyoming (1786); the armed mob at Exeter, surrounding the New Hampshire Legislature and demanding a remission of the taxes, etc. (1786), and the Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts, originating from a similar cause (1786–87). Contentions also sprang up with Spain in regard to boundaries and the navigation of the Mississippi (1786).

The National Constitution.

In all these troubles the weakness of Congress, under the old articles of confederation, was seen and deeply felt—a want of power to act strongly and effectively. The confederation produced no security against foreign invasion, Congress not being permitted to prevent a war nor to support it by its own authority. The Federal Government could not check a quarrel between States nor a rebellion in any, not having the constitutional power nor the means to interpose; nor could it defend itself against the encroachments of the States,* not even being paramount to the State constitutions. These defects in the articles of confederation became increasingly apparent each year, and the embarrassments which grew out of them were becoming so serious as to threaten the dis-

*Speech of Hon. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, in the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. *Madison's Works.* Vol. II, p. 730.

solution of the national government. Hon. James Madison, in a letter to Hon. Edmund Randolph (Feb. 25, 1787), said:

> Our situation is becoming every day more and more critical. No money comes into the Federal treasury, no respect is paid to the Federal authority, and people of reflection unanimously agree that the existing Confederacy is tottering to its foundation. Many individuals of weight, particularly in the Eastern District, are suspected of leaning toward monarchy. Other individuals predict a division of the States into two or more confederacies. It is pretty certain that if some radical amendment of the single one cannot be devised and introduced, one or other of these revolutions, the latter, no doubt, will take place. I hope you are bending your thoughts seriously to the great work of guarding against both.*

Such was the condition of things which called for the framing of the Federal Constitution in 1787. But after its completion great agitations attended its adoption in some of the States. The Jacobin intrigue followed in 1793–94, with numerous "Democratic societies," or politico-infidel clubs, organized in all parts of the land under the instigation of M. Genet, minister of the Jacobin Government in Paris, for the purpose of involving our nation in another war with England. Then came the Whisky Rebellion in Pennsylvania, in 1794. Near the close of this decade a powerful party called the "State Rights Party" sprang up in several States, threatening serious mischief by their radical theories antagonistic to the central principles of the Federal Constitution. Such were the Kentucky resolutions of 1798, and those of Virginia in 1799, which agitated and disturbed the public mind.

The last thirteen years of the last century have been characterized as "an era of bad feeling." There was much political excitement growing out of questions connected with the organization of the government, together with the wild, reckless, revolutionary spirit with which the French Revolution and French infidelity had fired many minds. Parties grew out of the issues, Federalism and Democracy ran high, separating families and churches. In the midst of such distractions it was difficult to accomplish very much in the more quiet sphere of religious efforts. It was the dark age of American Christianity.

Section 5.—Sundering of Ecclesiastico-Civil Ties.

But the influence of this great contest was not altogether disadvantageous. The great struggles and sacrifices were followed by great gains. The scattered colonies, united by fellow-sufferings in

* *Papers of James Madison*, Vol. II, p. 620.

a common cause, became an independent nation, a condition for which they were clearly destined by Providence. In respect to territory and material resources it was already an empire of no mean proportions, located apart from the rest of the world, with distinctly marked natural boundaries. Thus situated civil independence started the country upon a grand national career with great advantages, in which the churches must inevitably participate.

Among these advantages, particular prominence should be given to the liberation of the churches from the trammels of the civil power. Freedom of thought and action had come to be regarded as essential conditions for the unrestrained operation of the religious motives. In the exercise of such inalienable rights no civil power should interfere. Where they are untrammeled, a congenial soil is found for the growth of deep religious convictions and the quick propagation of religious impulses. Such guarantees also invest the personal religious convictions with peculiar dignity and sanctity. During the Revolutionary struggle the idea of religious liberty gained a fuller development than ever before, and the popular current, setting so strongly against both monarchical and hierarchical assumptions, afforded an opportunity for numerous bodies of dissenters from the established churches in the various colonies to cast off the yoke which had long oppressed them. Two results, therefore, followed the achievement of national independence: the sundering of the ecclesiastico-civil relations at home, and separation from European ecclesiasticisms.

Prior to the Revolution several religious denominations had been dependent upon official bodies in the mother countries for ecclesiastical prerogatives and the sacraments. The Protestant Episcopal and the Roman Catholic churches were subject to their respective bishops in London. Similar relations were sustained by the Methodist societies, the German Reformed, and some other bodies. On account of these foreign relations, many embarrassments and religious privations were suffered. Immediately after the Revolution these relations were dissolved and national organizations were formed. The first that effected a national organization was the Methodist Episcopal Church; then the Roman Catholic in part, receiving American bishops but still remaining subject to the Roman Pontiff; then the Protestant Episcopal Church, etc. Each also, in nearly the same order, recognized the Federal Government, and tendered their congratulations to General Washington on his elevation to the Presidency of the United States.

In the Several States.

The sundering of the civil relations in the several States was also inevitable, although not very easily effected, and not so complete at first as at a subsequent period. On the eve of the Revolution the equality of all Protestant sects had been acknowledged in Rhode Island, Delaware and Pennsylvania, and only in the two latter colonies did toleration extend to the Roman Catholic religion. In New York and Massachusetts Roman Catholic priests were liable to imprisonment and even death. It has been noticed that in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire Congregationalism was the established religion.* In all the southern colonies the Church of England had a similar civil support, and, with some slight modifications, it sustained such relations in New Jersey and New York. But after the Revolution there was a general breaking up of these ecclesiastico-civil unions, in some instances immediate and complete, while in others it was only begun.

The Church of England, the great majority of whose members were Loyalists, lost by the Revolution the establishment it had possessed in the southern colonies, and the official countenance and the privileges it had enjoyed in New York and New Jersey. But it retained its parsonages, glebe-lands and other endowments, which in some of the States, and especially in the city of New York, were by no means inconsiderable.†

But "there were not wanting those who cast a lingering look on the care of the State for public worship." The conservative convention of Maryland declared that "the Legislature may, in their discretion, lay a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion, leaving to each individual the apportioning the money collected from him to the support of any particular place of public worship or minister;" but the power granted was never exercised. For a time Massachusetts required of towns or religious societies "the support of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality" of their own election; but as each man chose his own religious society the requisition had no effect in large towns, and was hardly felt elsewhere as a grievance.‡ In Connecticut the Puritan worship was still closely interwoven with the State, and had molded the manners, habits and faith of the people; but the complete disentanglement was gradually brought about by inevitable processes of legislation.§

The Second Constitution of South Carolina declared "the Christian Protestant religion" to be the established religion of that State. Persons assenting to certain doctrinal tests were allowed to form churches and elect their own ministers, but pecuniary contributions were to be voluntary.

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* See chapter on Church and State, pp. 82–124.

† Hildreth's *History of the United States*. Vol. III, p. 383.

‡ This provision was not wholly amended until 1833. The grievance was greater, however, than here acknowledged.

§ Bancroft's *History of the United States*. Vol. IX, p. 277.

In New England, in the early modifications of the relation of the Church to the State, the Puritan principle was not at once wholly eliminated; but provision was still retained that every man, as a good citizen, was in duty bound not only to "attend meeting," but he must "support the minister;" voluntarily, if he would, otherwise, from necessity. Between 1780 and 1795, the law was so amended in the New England States that a person in order to be exempt from taxation must be a member of some other than the Congregational denomination, and must prove by certificate that he regularly attended religious services elsewhere on the Lord's day. If satisfactory evidence was not produced, he was assessed and taxed. In default of payment, the parish collector often entered the dwelling of honest poverty, took away platters, tables, chairs and andirons, and even sold at auction "the cow of the poor laborer." Appeals were made to higher tribunals, but only to the disadvantage and perhaps ruin of the plaintiff. Men were thus compelled to build "meeting-houses" they never entered, and to support ministers they never heard. After the commencement of this century men were exempted from taxation at their express request, and finally "Toleration Acts" swept from the statute-books the last vestige of these obnoxious laws.

In Virginia, by the "Religious Freedom Act" of 1785 all parish rates and doctrinal tests were abolished. The constitutions of New York, Delaware and Maryland excluded priests and ministers of religion from all public offices. In Georgia they could not become members of the Assembly. In Maryland all gifts for pious uses were absolutely prohibited by the Constitution, except grants of land, not exceeding two acres each, for churches and church-yards. The constitutions of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia expressly repudiated all compulsion in church attendance and church rates.

A Few Religious Tests Remained

for a short time, in some of the States, which excluded Roman Catholics and Jews from citizenship, but

They were eliminated almost as soon as their inconvenience attracted attention. The great result was accomplished from the beginning; the Church no longer formed a part of the State, and religion, ceasing to be a servant of the government or an instrument of dominion, asserted its independence and became a life in the soul. Public worship was voluntarily sustained. The Church, no longer subordinate to a temporal power, regained its unity by having no visible head and becoming an affair of the conscience of each individual. Nowhere was persecu-

tion for religious opinion so nearly at an end as in America. . . . In this universal freedom of conscience and worship, America, composed as it was of emigrants from many countries, formed its nationality; for nationality is not an artificial product, and can neither be imported nor taken away.*

Early Pecuniary Disadvantages.

The sundering of these relations to the civil power was attended with some pecuniary disadvantages at first. The pastor's salary, which had been promptly paid out of the town treasury in New England, and by some similar arrangement elsewhere, was thenceforth often delayed and sometimes paid in barter. His home was sometimes turned into a seminary for a half dozen boys whom he fitted for college. Rev. Elihu Goodrich, D.D., of Durham, Conn., had usually from fifteen to thirty young students under his care at once. In this way, with his small salary of $333 34 per year, and a few acres of parsonage land, he was enabled to educate his five sons at college and prepare them for public life. A hundred years ago, outside of large towns the minister's salary was a mere pittance. Even the highly-esteemed Joseph Buckminster's "settlement was upon the value of wheat and Indian corn, and varied extremely in different years; but never did the amount exceed six or seven hundred dollars."† In some sections the pastor was allowed "$130, with glebe-lands and parsonage, and the donations from strangers," or money put upon "the plate" which was kept in a conspicuous place in the meeting-house to receive the offerings of transient attendants.

The union of Church and State, and the paying of Church expenses out of State or town funds for so long a period, largely suspended voluntary giving. Dandled in this profane lap and schooled under this profane tuition, it is not strange that prejudice against voluntary pecuniary offerings should have become strongly intrenched in the natural selfishness of the human heart, and that for some time the churches should have suffered. Giving and worship, in all the earlier ages, and in the letter and spirit of Christianity, had been blended. Under the Church and State regimen they were divorced. After the Revolution the banns, long discarded, were proclaimed anew. But the affinities had been seriously deranged, and the reunion was slowly consummated. Poverty, inconvenience and shame were for a while experienced in the churches under the new voluntary system, but in the subsequent periods we shall record its triumph.

After the Revolution, too, the language of the people and the

* *History of the United States.* By Hon. George Bancroft. Vol. IX, p. 275.
† *Memoir of Joseph Buckminster, D.D.*, p. 69.

language of the Church services, which had in some localities been foreign, became Anglicised. The Dutch peculiarities became less distinctive in New York. The signs over the stores showed the change. Along the slips of the Hudson the Dutch language was no longer the media of commerce. The three great Dutch churches, in which none of the services had ever been heard in English, soon surrendered the language of the Stuyvesants, though the pastor was still styled "the dominie," and preached in the high pulpit in a black silk gown, with the hour-glass at his right and the sounding-board over his head.

Section 6.—The Churches After the War.

The orthodox *Congregational* churches, the direct lineage of the Puritan churches, being almost entirely confined to New England, suffered less from the ravages of war than those in the portions of the country overrun by the contending armies. From 1773 to 1780 there was an increase of ten churches in Massachusetts alone; and from 1780 to 1800 thirty more churches were organized, making 344 Congregational churches in that State. In Maine, in 1800, there were 63; in New Hampshire, 96; in Vermont, 75; in Rhode Island, 6; in Connecticut, 196; total in New England, 780 churches of this denomination. Outside of New England they had about thirty churches, twenty-four of which were in New York.*†

** Historical Sketches of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts.* By Rev. Joseph S. Clark, D.D., Boston, 1858.

† The Congregational ministers of this period were: Nathan Perkins, D.D., 1771–1838; David Ely, D.D., 1771–1816; David M'Clure, D.D., 1771–1820; Joseph Lyman, D.D., 1771–1828; Manasseh Cutler, LL.D., 1771–1823; Joseph Willard, D.D., LL.D., 1772–1804; Benjamin Wadsworth, D.D., 1772–1826; Nathan Strong, D.D., 1772–1816; Nathaniel Porter, D.D., 1772–1837; William Hollingshed, D.D., 1772–1817; Charles Backus, D.D., 1773–1803; David Osgood, D.D., 1773–1822; Samuel Spring, D.D., 1774–1819; John Smith, D.D., 1774–1809; Mathias Burnett, D.D., 1774–1806; David Tappan D.D., 1774–1803; Elihu Thayer, D.D., 1775–1812; Joseph Buckminster, D.D., 1775–1812; David Parsons D.D., 1775–1823; Eliphalet Pearson, LL.D., 1775–1826; Joseph Eckley, D.D., 1776–1811; Asa Burton, D.D., 1777–1830; Daniel Chaplin, D.D., 1777–1831; Timothy Dwight, D.D., 1777–1817; Isaac S. Keith, D.D., 1778–1813; Samuel Wood, D.D., 1779–1836; Jonathan Homer, D.D., 1780–1813; Lemuel Haynes, 1780–1834; Samuel Nott, D.D., 1781–1852; David Austin, 1781–1831; Seth Payson, D.D., 1782–1820; John Crane, D.D., 1782–1836; Joseph McKeen, D.D., 1784–1807; Samuel Austin, D.D., 1784–1830; Moses Cook Welch. D.D., 1784–1824; Abiel Holmes, D.D., 1784–1837; Jedediah Morse, D.D., 1785–1826; Richard S. Storrs, 1785–1819; Jacob Catlin, D.D., 1786–1826; Elijah Parish, D.D., 1787–1825; Abel Flint, D.D., 1788–1825; Jonathan Strong, D.D., 1788–1814; Walter Harris, D.D., 1789–1843; Azel Backus, D.D., 1789–1817; Chauncy Lee, D.D., 1789–1842; Alvan Hyde, D.D., 1790–1833; Asahel Hooker, 1790–1813; John Elliot, D.D., 1791–1824; Calvin Chapin, D.D., 1791–1851; Giles H. Cowles, D.D., 1791–1835; Asahel S. Norton, D.D., 1792–1853; William Jackson, D.D., 1793–1842; Ebenezer Porter, D.D., 1794–1834; Daniel Dow, D.D., 1795–1849.

Prior to the Revolution the *Protestant Episcopal* Church was under the oversight of the Bishop of London. During the Revolution that jurisdiction could not be exercised. At the close of the Revolution this bond, though not formally sundered, was superseded or in abeyance, and it became necessary to combine on some new plan of association. Organization was undertaken by two methods, the conventional and the Episcopal, the former in the Middle States and the latter in Connecticut. In May, 1784, a few clergymen of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania met at New Brunswick, N. J., for consultation. Again in October, in New York city, they reassembled, and agreed upon a basis for future ecclesiastical organization. In September, 1785, another meeting was held in Philadelphia, in which seven States between the Hudson River and the Savannah were represented. The book of Common Prayer was accommodated to the recent changes. In the meantime in Connecticut the Episcopal method was undertaken. Rev. Dr. Seabury, of Connecticut, a little in advance of his brethren in the Middle States, applied to the English bishops for Episcopal ordination. Discouraged by delay, he transferred his application to the non-juring bishops of Scotland, received ordination November 14, 1784, and returned to America on the 3d of August, 1785. The first exercise of his Episcopal functions was in August, 1785, in Connecticut. The members of the Philadelphia Convention at first looked with disfavor upon the Scotch episcopacy, and pressed an application for ordination directly from England. On the 4th of February, 1787, Revs. William White, D.D., of Philadelphia, and Samuel Provost, D.D., of New York, were consecrated bishops in Lambeth Palace, London. At a general convention held in September, 1789, the clergy from New England were present, the union became general and complete, and Bishop Seabury's ordination was recognized. Five other bishops were consecrated prior to 1800, and seven of the eight bishops were living at that date. In the year 1800 this denomination had 264 clergymen and 11,978 communicants,* and the following dioceses had been constituted: Connecticut and Maryland, 1783; Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, 1784; New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina and Virginia, 1785; Vermont and Rhode Island, 1790; Delaware, 1791.†

* *Episcopal Record* for 1860.

† The Episcopal ministers of this period were, James Madison, D.D., 1775–1812; John Buchannan, D.D., 1775–1822; Nathaniel Fisher, 1777–1812; Charles H. Wharton, D.D., 1784–1833; Collin Ferguson, D.D., 1785–1806; William Smith, D.D., 1785–1821; Philo Shelton, 1785–1825; Joseph G. J. Bend, D.D., 1787–1812; Slater Clay, 1787–1821; Tillotson Bronson,

The Episcopal Church in its organized form was reluctantly recognized by many in New England. The propriety of admitting bishops into Massachusetts was gravely questioned and discussed in the Boston *Gazette* (January 1785). When the news came of the ordination of Bishop Seabury the *Gazette* exclaimed, "Two Wonders of the World—a stamp act in Boston and a Bishop in Connecticut."

The *Presbyterian* Church was located principally in the Middle States, where the ravages of the war were most severely felt, but the Synod of New York and Philadelphia kept up its annual meetings, although the attendance was generally small. After the paralyzing effects of the Revolution had begun to pass away, this denomination gradually extended itself,* and, in view of its prospective growth, it was felt that measures must be taken for perfecting its organization and a fuller declaration of its principles. The question was considered and matured during several years (1785–1788), resulting in the organization of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, which held its first session in the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia in May, 1789, Rev. Dr. John Rodgers moderator. At this session an address of recognition and congratulation to the President of the United States was adopted. A Committee on Home Missions was also appointed,† which is believed to have been the earliest action of this kind, except that of the Congregationalists.

Pre-eminent among the Presbyterian clergy of this period was Dr. John Witherspoon, Professor of Divinity in Princeton College. A native of Scotland, called to this position in 1769, he was a man of varied and profound scholarship, an elegant and powerful preacher, with a vigorous physical constitution, a statesmanlike mind, and possessed a personal "presence second only to that of Washington." He was for several years a member of the Continental Congress, where his sagacity and discernment were highly esteemed, and his pen was brought into frequent requisition upon important state papers, involving intricate subjects of political economy.

Rev. John Ewing, D.D., for thirty years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, and for twenty years Provost

D.D., 1787–1826; John S. J. Gardner, D.D., 1787–1830; Richard Channing Moore, D.D., 1787–1841; James Kemp, D.D., 1789–1827; John Croes, D.D., 1791–1832; William Harris, D.D., 1791–1829; David Butler, D.D., 1792–1842; James Abercrombie, D.D., 1793–1841; Charles Seabury, 1793–1844; Walter D. Addison, 1793–1848; Daniel Burhans, D.D., 1793–1853; Alexander V. Griswold, D.D., 1795–1843.

* In 1788 it numbered 419 congregations, about one half of which were destitute of pastors.

† Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia and New York, 1788, 1789.

of the University of Pennsylvania, was eminent for his knowledge in classical and scientific studies, and also for his ability as a preacher. The pastor of the Second Church for nearly half a century, Rev. Dr. James Sproatt, was also a distinguished minister, pre-eminent for personal piety and for his mastery of the art of persuasion. He fell a victim to the yellow fever in 1793. The pastor of the Third Church, Rev. Dr. George Duffield, in whose veins mingled Irish, English and Huguenot blood, was an earnest, ardent, and fearless man, and a powerful champion of civil and religious liberty. The celebrated John Adams was one of his hearers and admirers. Revs. John Blair Smith, D.D., President of Hampden-Sidney College, and subsequently of Union College, and his brother, Samuel Stanhope Smith, D.D., President of Nassau Hall, were leading men of this period. The former has been styled "a model preacher, whose soul glowed with evangelical fervor and love of souls." Dr. William M. Tennent also is worthy of special mention as a man of devoted piety, of great sweetness of temper and politeness of manner. Rev. James Grier, of Delaware, was an effective preacher, of deep sonorous voice, earnest, and often deeply impassioned. "The patriarch of the Presbytery of Carlisle" was Rev. John Elder, who for more than fifty most eventful years discharged the duties of the pastoral relation in the towns of Paxton and Derry, Pa. He was a man for the times, with a robust constitution, large stature, commanding presence, and indomitable courage and energy. Dr. Charles Nisbet, first president of Dickinson College, was a Scotchman by birth, an able debater, abounding in ready wit, brilliant in conversation, and so extensively read that he was proverbially called a walking library. Dr. Patrick Allison, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, was a man of impressive personal appearance, in a remarkable degree graceful and dignified in his demeanor, of irreproachable character, and possessed intellectual gifts of a high order. Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Keith, of Alexander, and subsequently of Castleton, S. C., is a name noted for the honorable memories of usefulness and devotion associated with it. To these might be added numerous other names of distinction and great personal worth. There was the Rev. James Waddell, of Virginia, the preacher of unrivaled eloquence, and Thomas Moore, of Western Pennsylvania, called 'the scourge of Arminianism;' Dr. John Anderson, the zealous pioneer missionary preacher; John Watson, of Canonsburg, the youthful genius; the venerable John Clark, of the Redstone Presbytery; Dr. John King, the elaborate thinker; Dr. Rodgers and his colleague, Dr. J. McKnight, of New York; Dr.

Stephen B. Balch, of Georgetown; Dr. Samuel Buel, of East Hampton, L. I., the friend of Branerd, Whitefield, Belamy, and the elder Edwards; Dr. Phillip Milledoler, of Philadelphia, and subsequently of New York city, the faithful preacher and successful pastor in Connecticut about fifteen years previous.

The extent of this denomination, at the close of the century, will be seen from the following data for 1798:*

	Congregations.	Ministers.	Licentiates.
Synod of New York and New Jersey	115	72	5
Synod of Philadelphia	129	38	12
Synod of Virginia	69	42	10
Synod of the Carolinas	93	58	10
Number of Presbyteries			19

In Ohio there was one presbytery, with 9 ministers, 3 licenciates, and 15 congregations. In Kentucky there were 5 ministers. The above statistics are supposed to be not quite complete. Rev. Dr. Baird gave the statistics of the Presbyterian Church in 1800 as follows: 500 churches, 300 ministers, and 40,000 communicants.

The *Associate* and the *Associate Reformed Presbyterian* churches both prospered after the Revolution. The New York Synod of the latter branch was organized in 1782. Among the distinguished ministers of this body were Revs. John M. Mason, D.D., Thomas Clark, Robert Arnan and James Proudfit, D.D.

"The *Associate Presbyterians*," a secession from the Presbyterian Church, under the leadership of Rev. Jacob Green, originally consisted of four ministers, who quietly withdrew and organized the "Presbytery of Morris County," at Hanover, May 3, 1780. Their platform has been characterized as "Presbyterian in form, but Congregational in fact." This new body received sympathy in regions where Congregational influence was felt, in the counties of Dutchess and Westchester, N. Y., along the New England line, and in course of time five Presbyteries were organized. This movement started under a vigorous impulse of growth, which was felt for almost twenty years. It subsequently, however, declined, and before 1830 its presbyteries had been disbanded, its churches had all been absorbed into Presbyterian or Congregational organizations, and all its memorials passed away.†

Dr. Crooks, in his history of the one hundred years of Dickinson College, says:

* Minutes of the General Assembly, 1798.

† *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D. Vol. I, p. 218.

The debt which this country owes to the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians has not been understood, much less acknowledged. They, in their Synod which met at Philadelphia, in 1775, were the first religious body to declare themselves in favor of open resistance to the king. They issued the first Declaration of Independence, that of Mecklenberg, May 20, 1775. They were the founders of the schools of learning in the Middle States, and notably the founders of Dickinson College.

Their history has as yet been but imperfectly told, but the time will come when the Scotch and Irish Presbyterian of Pennsylvania will take his place alongside the New England Puritan as one of the founders of liberty and learning in the New World. The race which has given to the country John Witherspoon, Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, Andrew Jackson, Robert Fulton, Horace Greeley, and others of equal or lesser fame, is one whose memory men cannot willingly let die.

At the time of the Revolution the *Baptists* were few in number, suffering pitiless persecution in the chief colonies—fines, mobs, imprisonment, scourging. Against terrible odds they strove to realize their ideal of a Church of regenerated persons, baptized on a profession of personal faith, and exercising absolute freedom of conscience. They numbered about fifteen thousand communicants. They entered into the Revolution with great zeal, hoping for religious as well as political liberty. In the triumph of the Revolution they, therefore, doubly rejoiced, and rapidly won upon popular favor on account of their conspicuous advocacy of freedom of conscience. They grew rapidly,* in 1792 numbering 891 churches, 1,156 ministers,† and 65,345 members. These were distributed as follows: in New England, 266 churches, 342 ministers, and 17,174 members; in the Middle States, 126 churches, 155 ministers, and 8,025 members; in the Southern States, 437 churches, 565 ministers, and 36,100 members; in Kentucky and Tennessee, 60 churches, 82 ministers, and 3,984 members; in Ohio there were 2 churches, 2 ministers, and 62 members. In Virginia alone there were 261 Baptist churches and 20,443 members. Exact data for 1800 have not been compiled, but it has been estimated that this denomination had at that time about 100,000 members.

After the Revolution the *Methodist* preachers, relieved from their

* Rev. Rufus Babcock, D.D., in *American Quarterly Register*, 1840, 1841, p. 185.

† The Baptist ministers of this period were Joseph Cook, 1776-1792; Benjamin Foster, D.D., 1776-1798; Caleb Blood, 1776-1814; John Pitman, 1777-1822; Lewis Richards, 1777-1832; Ambrose Dudley, 1778-1823; Isaac Case, 1780-1852; Thomas Baldwin, D.D., 1782-1826; Henry Holcomb, D.D., 1784-1824; Joseph Grafton, 1784-1836; Stephen Gano, 1786-1828; William Elliot, 1786-1830; Aaron Leland, 1786-1833; John Stanford, 1786-1834; Andrew Marshall, 1786-1856; Thomas B. Montanye, 1787-1829; Elisha Andrews, 1787-1840; John Tripp, 1787-1847; Henry Smalley, 1788-1839; Jesse Mercer, D.D., 1788-1841; Andrew Broaddus, 1789-1848; Jonathan Maxcy, D.D., 1790-1820; Robert B. Semple, 1790-1831; Abel Woods, 1790-1850; Daniel Wildman, 1791-1849; William Bachelder, 1792-1818; Asa Messer, D.D., LL.D., 1792-1836; William Staughton, D.D., 1793-1829; Morgan J. Rhees, 1794-1804; Zenas L. Leonard, 1794-1841; John Healey, 1794-1848; John Williams, 1795-1825.

embarrassments, went freely forth in every direction, accomplishing their heroic mission. In 1784, having increased to 83 preachers and 14,988 members, the Methodist societies were formally organized, by Constitution and Discipline, into the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Revs. Francis Asbury and Richard Whatcoat were elected and ordained bishops. Although then one of the youngest of the American religious denominations, it was the first in the United States to effect a national organization. In the year 1800 it numbered 3 bishops, 287 preachers and 64,894 members, and had extended itself as far eastward as the St. John's River, and southward to Georgia, to the west as far as Natchez, and into Indiana and Illinois. Methodism did not enter New England until 1789; but in 1800 it had 5,828 members in those States, notwithstanding the region was largely preoccupied by other denominations. At its organization, in 1784, the Methodist Episcopal Church was the first religious body to formally recognize the new civil government, in its constitutional law,* enforcing loyalty and patriotism upon its communicants.

The Methodist Episcopal Church in advance of any other religious body recognized the organization of the National Government and the presidency of Washington. In behalf of the Conference in session in New York, Bishops Coke and Asbury waited on Washinton, then just inaugurated, May 29, 1789, and Bishop Asbury read to him the Address of the Conference, to which Washington appropriately replied. †

The first schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church occurred in 1792, under the leadership of Rev. James O'Kelley, and organized under the name of "Republican Methodists." This division prevailed chiefly in Virginia and North Carolina; but it was not long before this body was subdivided several times, and the only portion

* See *Centenary of Methodism*. By Rev. Abel Stevens, LL.D. Pp. 203, 204.

† The Methodist ministers of this period were, Robert Strawbridge, 1766–1781; Thomas Webb, 1766–1782; Francis Asbury, 1771–1816; Thomas Rankin, 1773–1778; George Shadford, 1773–1778; Benjamin Abbott, 1773–1796; William Watters, 1773–1833; Philip Gatch, 1773–1835; Freeborn Garrettson, 1776–1827; John Dickins, 1777–1798; John Haggerty, 1779–1823; Nelson Reed, 1779–1840; Joseph Everett, 1781–1809; Philip Bruce, 1781–1826; Peter Moriarty, 1782–1813; Jesse Lee, 1783–1816; William Phœbus, 1783–1831; Wilson Lee, 1784–1804; Richard Whatcoat, 1784–1806; Isaac Smith, 1784–1834; Ezekiel Cooper, 1784–1847; Hope Hull, 1785–1818; Thomas Ware, 1785–1842; John McClaskey, 1786–1814; Daniel Asbury, 1786–1825; Thomas Coke, 1787–1804; Barnabas McHenry, 1787–1833; Thomas Morrell, 1787–1838; Valentine Cook, 1788–1820; William McKendree, 1788–1835; Daniel Smith, 1789–1815; George Roberts, 1789–1827; Stephen G. Roszel, 1789–1841; John Kobler, 1789–1843; Daniel Hitt, 1790–1825; Enoch George, 1790–1828; George Pickering, 1790–1846; Shadrach Bostwick, 1791–1805; Laurence McCombs, 1792–1836; Daniel Ostrander, 1793–1843; John B. Matthias, 1793–1848; Enoch Mudge, 1793–1850; John Broadhead, 1794–1838; Nicholas Snethen, 1794–1845; Thomas F. Sargent, 1795–1833; John Collins, 1795–1845.

that remained in 1810 blended with two other factions from the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches, and constituted the "Independent Christian Baptist Church," more recently called the "Christians."

The *German Reformed* Church was dependent upon the Dutch Church in Europe until 1792, when an independent constitution was adopted. The statistics for 1800 are unknown.

The Revolutionary war proved very disastrous to the *Reformed Dutch* Church, particularly in the city and vicinity of New York, where their church edifices had been freely used by the British for cavalry and hospital purposes. In 1784 they had been reduced to 82 congregations and 30 ministers.* In 1800 they had 137 congregations and 60 ministers.

The *Lutherans* had become widely extended throughout the Middle States before the Revolution, but during its progress they suffered severely. In 1784 they had 25 ministers, and about 5,000 members in the United States. After that time they gained rapidly.

The *Friends* numbered about 50,000 communicants in 1800.

The *Free Will Baptist* Church is purely of American origin. Elder Benjamin Randall,* of New Hampshire, a convert of Whitefield, is regarded as its founder, and the date of its organization is June 30, 1780. The first Yearly Meeting was held in New Durham, N. H., in 1792. Elder Randall was an eminently pious and successful minister, very extensive in his labors, a powerful promoter of revivals, for which this denomination was long noted. In the year 1800 they numbered 2,000 communicants, with one yearly meeting, six quarterly meetings, 51 churches, 28 ordained ministers and 22 unordained. About the year 1800 they received the name Free Will Baptists. They were opprobiously called "General Provisioners," "Randallites," "Free Willers," "New Lights," "Open Communionists," At this date they had no churches outside of New Hampshire and Maine.

The *German Seventh-Day Baptists* were a small body in 1800.

The *Dunkers* keep no registry of their members.

The *Mennonites* in 1800 had spread quite extensively in Pennsylvania and Maryland.

The *Moravians* had about 20 churches in the United States in 1800.

The *Seventh-Day Baptist* Church had 1,648 communicants in 1807.

* Besides Elder Randall, Joseph Boody, Daniel Hibbard, James McCorsen, Nathan Merrill, Samuel Weeks and John Whitney, were ministers in this period.

The origin of the *United Brethren* has been already traced to Rev. Messrs. Ottenbein and Boehm, in the latter part of the colonial period. The first Conference of this body of Christians was held in Baltimore in 1789, consisting of seven preachers; but their organization was more fully constituted by the ordination of the gentlemen just mentioned to the office of Bishop in the year 1800.

The *Evangelical Association*, formerly called Albrights and German Methodists, had their origin with Rev. Jacob Albright, in Pennsylvania. He experienced religion in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church, about 1790, and was licensed as a local preacher. Actuated by an ardent desire to do good, he went forth and zealously labored for the salvation of the German people, preaching somewhat irregularly wherever opportunity was found. About 1800 he began to organize classes, which was the beginning of what has since been known as the *Albright* or *Evangelical Association* Church.

The *African Methodist Episcopal* Church had its inception in this period, in difficulties arising in St. George Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia. The colored members withdrew from the church in 1786, and united in a provisional association. Under the leadership of Richard Allen, who subsequently became bishop, a separate place of worship was erected and dedicated by Bishop Francis Asbury, June 29, 1794. They styled their church *Bethel*, Mr. Allen serving as pastor. In 1799 he was formally ordained bishop by Bishop Asbury—the first colored person ordained to the ministry in the United States. The denomination was more fully organized in 1816.

The *Jews* came to America, as did the Puritans and the Huguenots, to escape religious persecution; but they were not tolerated in some of the colonies. Gaining a foothold in a few places they slowly increased in numbers, some of them became wealthy and contributed liberally to the cause of the Revolution. They established synagogues

In New York city, in 1650.	In Savannah, Ga., in 1733.
In Newport, R. I., in 1658.	In Charleston, S. C., in 1750.
In Richmond, Va., in 1719.	In Philadelphia, Pa., in 1782.

In New York city, in 1793, in a population of 41,000 there were 22 ministers of the Gospel: Episcopal 4, Dutch 3, Methodist 3, German Calvinists 1, Lutheran 1, Associate Congregationalist 1, Independents 1, Moravians 1, Baptist 1, Roman Catholic 1, Jews 1, Scotch Presbyterian 1, Presbyterian 3.*

* *Life of Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller.* Vol. I, p. 81.

Section 7.—Revivals of Religion Rare.

Not many revivals of religion can be cited from the records of this period. A few seasons of refreshing were enjoyed in two of the colleges. In Dartmouth College in 1781, extending into the towns twenty miles around, and again in 1788, but not so extensive and powerful. After the latter date a season of declension followed, continuing seventeen years. In 1783 a revival occurred in Yale College, which swelled the membership of the college church larger than it had ever been before; but twelve years later the college was wholly pervaded with French infidelity, and only four or five students were professedly pious.* From 1770 to 1810 no revival of religion occurred in Princeton College. During the Revolution the college was broken up. Its exercises were wholly suspended for three years, and the edifice served as barracks for both British and American troops in turn. When it was reopened, in 1780, for college purposes it was found that there had been a great change in the moral and religious atmosphere. Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green, who entered the institution in 1782, has said:

> While I was a member of the college there were but two professors of religion among the students, and not more than five or six who scrupled to use profane language in common conversation; and sometimes it was of a very shocking kind. . . . Dr. Smith, the president of the college at that time, used to complain grievously, and justly, of the mischievous and fatal effects which the prevalent infidelity had on the minds of his pupils.

The condition of things was not much better in the churches. A few revivals have been reported in the closing portion of the last century. At Elizabethtown, N. J., in 1784, the Holy Spirit was poured out in a special manner, and the gracious influence was felt about two years. In 1790 there was a revival in Hanover, N. J. In 1778 a revival occurred in "Vance's Fort," in western Pennsylvania, growing out of the labors of one man, Joseph Patterson, a layman. From this revival the Cross Creek Presbyterian Church was formed. From 1781 to 1787 the work of reformation was carried extensively forward in the churches of Cross Creek, Upper Buffalo, Chartiers, Pigeon Creek, Bethel, Lebanon, Ten Mile, Cross Roads and Mill Creek, during which more than one thousand persons professed conversion. In the year 1795 a quickening influence descended upon the congregation at Chartiers, in which the academy at Canonsburg shared largely. The winter of 1798 was marked by a great revival of religion in the Presbyterian churches in western New York.

* Professor Goodrich in *American Quarterly Register.*

Palmyra, Canandaigua, and several of the large towns along the southern border of the State were first visited. The gracious influence then extended through the counties of Delaware, Otsego, Oneida, and also further to the west, and laid the foundation for many churches in those regions.

In 1788–89, there was considerable attention to religion in the upper part of Georgia. The Baptist churches shared largely in it through the ministry of Revs. Silas Mercer and Abram Marshall. The Methodist churches were also much increased under the labors of Rev. Hope Hull and others. The Presbyterian churches in that region were then few, but they were considerably increased in number by the exertions of Revs. Daniel Thatcher and John Springer. Just before this there was a great religious interest in North Carolina, in connection with the labors of Rev. Dr. James Hall. Rev. Richard Furman, D.D., an eminent Baptist divine of Charleston, S. C., was a very successful minister of Christ. In a few other places in the Middle States the Presbyterians were favored with revivals during the last decade of the century, and the Methodist and Baptist churches throughout the whole country were gradually laying and extending their foundations. In 1796–98 a few revivals occurred in the western part of Connecticut and Massachusetts, most of which had had no spiritual refreshing for long periods—from twenty to sixty years. Almost all of Eastern New England, beyond the Berkshire and Green Mountain ranges, was exempt from revival influences from 1745 until long after 1800. The same condition existed in eastern New York and the remainder of the Middle States, except in the portions already referred to. The state of religion and morals * was lower than at any other time in the nation's history, and thousands of minds were paralyzed by the fatal influence of infidelity.†

* See chapter on Morals in this period.

† See chapter on French-American infidelity in this period.

CHAPTER II.

PROTESTANT BEGINNINGS BEYOND THE ALLEGHANIES.

SEC. 1. Roman Catholic Preoccupancy. | SEC. 3. Evangelizing Efforts.
" 2. Anglo-American Settlements. | " 4. Early Privations, etc.

THE valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries became an object of increasing interest and desire to the Anglo-American people in this period. During the last thirty years of the last century the foundations of the great States, Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio, were laid, and the principal religious bodies had their beginnings within their borders. The area of this great valley has been calculated at about 1,200,000 square miles—equal to that of Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Norway and Sweden.

Section 1.—Roman Catholic Preoccupancy.

In sketches of the colonial era * it was noticed that on the 15th of June, 1673, the Mississippi River was discovered by two French Catholic missionary explorers, Marquette and Joliet. In 1680 Father Hennepin explored the Illinois river to the Mississippi, and, taken a prisoner by the Sioux Indians, was carried up the stream as far as the Falls of St. Anthony. In 1672 La Salle descended the Mississippi to its mouth, and formally took possession of the vast valley region in the name of his king, Louis XIV., from whom he named it Louisiana. In 1683 Cahokia and Kaskaskia, in Illinois, were founded—another step in the execution of the plan for insulating all the English settlements, by establishing an unbroken line of forts and papal missions from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1699 and 1700 D'Iberville and Bienville explored the lower Mississippi and founded a colony, which in 1713 had a population of 400 whites and 20 blacks. New Orleans was founded by the French in 1717, and

* For a fuller view of the movements of the Roman Catholic Church in the Mississippi Valley see pp. 68–80.

the Spanish colony at Pensacola was taken by the French two years later. About this time emigrants began to come in considerable numbers from Europe into Lower Louisiana. The colony was divided into nine districts, with New Orleans as the principal post. It proved a heavy tax upon the parent country, in five years occasioning a loss of 125,000 livres to the French Government. The celebrated "Mississippi Bubble," by which European capitalists lost three million dollars, was an advantage to Louisiana.

In the meantime papal emissaries, penetrating all parts of the West, had established mission stations at most of the prominent points from Montreal to New Orleans. Trappers and traders, eager for gain, kept equal pace with the enthusiastic Allouez, the holy Marquette, the devout Gravier; and in their train some of the oldest permanent settlements of the West were founded. Detroit, Cahokia and Kaskaskia, called by La Salle "a terrestrial paradise," date as far back as Mobile and Philadelphia. Fort Chartres, at the junction of the Osage and Missouri rivers, a place of immense importance to the French for fifty years, was founded in 1720, and Vincennes in 1735. These settlements gradually increased, made up of a mixed French and Indian population devoted to the simple pursuits of industry, the luxuriant soil amply repaying their toil with plenteous crops. We have noticed that as early as 1746, 600 barrels of flour were annually shipped from the Wabash region to New Orleans, besides hides, tallow, wax and honey. The religion of these settlements was Roman Catholic; their laws consisted of a few elements of the old Roman code and their education comprised little beyond reading and writing. Thus lived missionaries, fur-traders, voyageurs, farmers and hunters, in simple quiet, in the midst of the vast western wilderness.

Previous to 1750 the French made a settlement at Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, as a part of their system of forts to command the valley on the east. In 1755 General Braddock met a memorable defeat near this place, but the victory of General Wolfe at Quebec, four years later, giving the English the ascendency in the North, was a serious check to French dominion. At the close of the French and Indian war, in 1763, the eastern valley of the Mississippi was ceded to England, and west of the river to Spain. The year following Florida was ceded to England. At the commencement of the Revolution the Spaniards in Louisiana, joining the French as allies of the colonies, captured the English posts at Baton Rouge, Mobile and Pensacola; and about the same time the American general, Clark, surprised and captured the English force at Vincennes.

By the peace of 1783 Great Britain ceded Florida to Spain, and all of the territory north of the 31st degree of latitude to the United States. In 1800 Napoleon had compelled Spain to cede Louisiana to France; but on the 13th of April, 1803, France sold to the United States the vast region of ancient Louisiana, then extending from the Gulf of Mexico to Missouri and the region north and west of that State. Access was thus opened to the ocean for the enterprising settlers of the great valley, and a new impulse was given to its future prosperity. In the last ten years of the century bloody Indian wars raged in the West. In September, 1791, General Harmer was defeated by the Indians with great loss, and in November, 1792, General Clark was routed with a terrible slaughter; but by the decisive victories of General Wayne in 1794 peace was for a season restored among the Indian tribes.

Section 2.—Anglo-American Settlements.

Anglo-American emigration to the Mississippi valley received a fresh impulse after the fall of Fort Chartres—the last of the French fortresses. Glowing reports of the magnificent valley beyond the Alleghanies awakened the eager cupidity of the settlers of the coast States, and the eastern populations commenced a westward march over the mountains. Military detachments, families, bands of hunters and single adventurers pushed steadily on. Some of these movements were very early. Land "companies" were formed; the "Ohio Company," in 1748, the "Transylvania Company" and the "Mississippi Company" near the close of the French war, chiefly by inhabitants of Virginia, for the purpose of obtaining from the English crown grants of land in the great valley, with power to hold and dispose of them. In 1786 the "Ohio Company" was reorganized, enterprising gentlemen from Massachusetts* entering into it, and liberal land bounties were granted by the General Government. By these means the settlement of the country was facilitated.

In 1754 an attempt was made by North Carolinians to settle in Tennessee, but they were driven off by Indians. The first permanent settlement was effected in eastern Tennessee by emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina. Following the waters of the Holston and Clinch rivers, they located near Knoxville as early as 1756, and were soon followed by a few others. Kentucky was explored and settled from Virginia, in 1769, by Messrs. Henderson,

* Generals Parsons, Rufus Putnam and Rev. Manassch Cutler were appointed directors.

Knox, and the famous Boone. Marietta, Ohio, was settled in 1788, by a company led by General Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler, of Massachusetts. The following year Cincinnati was founded, and in 1794, the Western Reserve, in the north-eastern part of the State, was settled by families from Connecticut and Massachusetts. Small beginnings were also made in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, just prior to 1800. Indian massacres and the great national war seriously retarded the growth of these early settlements, but new impulses were successively given to them by the close of the French war, then by the war of the Revolution, and finally by the successful expedition of General Wayne, in 1794. The celebrated ordinance of 1787, perpetually devoting the North-west Territory to freedom, and the reorganization of the "Ohio Company" the same year, turned public attention strongly toward the latter State. In the year 1800 the population of these States was: Tennessee, 105,602; Kentucky, 220,965; Ohio, 45,365. Indiana Territory had 4,875, and Illinois was not reported. Such were the beginnings of the great populations now filling the Mississippi valley.

These early inhabitants comprised some of the best classes of people in respect to morals, religion and general culture; but very many were dissipated, reckless men, refugees from the better civilization of the older communities, and not a few outlaws from justice, and duelists red with the blood of their victims. Society was inchoate, or at best crudely organized, and summary processes of "regulators" constituted the only public defense. The Cherokees, on the south, and other Indian tribes, north and west, were restless and aggressive, and not less than five treaties with them were made and broken between 1783 and 1790. Buried hatchets were easily dug up, and war-dances resumed on the slightest provocation.

Section 3.—Evangelizing Efforts.

The first Protestant missionary beyond the Allegheny Mountains, Christian Frederick Post, a devout and godly *Moravian*, had become familiar with Indian habits and languages in his labors among the Delawares, on the banks of the Susquehanna. A calm, simple-hearted, but intrepid man, he feared not the dangers and privations of the Indian wilderness. During that perilous period after the fall of Braddock, he was selected by General Forbes and sent into the Indian territory to win over the red men from the French

to the English. The fall of Fort Duquesne was claimed to be one of the consequences of his negotiations.

After the close of the French and Indian war, Post, accompanied by another Moravian, the celebrated Heckewelder, returned to this region, proceeding as far as the Muskingum, on whose banks a tribe of the Delawares had settled, and recommenced his labors. "The war of Pontiac beginning in the following year, the two missionaries, warned of their danger by friendly Indians, returned east of the mountains and remained six years, when, together with David Zeisberger, they came back to the Muskingum, and laid the foundations of the town of Gnadenhütten, a memorable settlement of the good Moravians and their Indians. This was the first establishment of those devout and useful missionaries beyond the mountains. Many an Indian heart was won to the cause of truth by their patience, constancy, and judicious, humble instructions; and flourishing out-stations began to grow up all around them. During all the Revolutionary struggle the Moravians were successfully laboring toward the conversion of the Delaware Indians. But, unfortunately, the towns which they occupied were just upon the frontier, between the whites on the one side and the Indians on the other." * These Christian Indians became the victims of suspicion from the fierce Wyandots, the Shawnees, and the British, on the one hand, and the Americans, at Fort Pitt,† on the other, and were at last cruelly massacred by the latter—one of the darkest spots in the records of American arms; an unprovoked, causeless, and irrational slaughter. A few of them escaped and remained true to their religious instructions. The settlement was subsequently re-enforced and re-established by the Moravians. The Moravian brethren were the first to carry the Gospel in its purity into the vast region of the Mississippi Valley.

To the *Baptist* denomination belongs the honor of the first introduction of the Gospel into Tennessee and Kentucky; being very strong and numerous in Virginia and North Carolina, whence the first settlers came. As early as 1765 the first Baptist churches were organized in eastern Tennessee, along the Holston and Clinch Rivers. They were for a time broken up by the Indian war of 1774, but after 1780 they were re-enforced and reorganized by new settlers. In 1786 the Holstein Association was organized, consisting of seven churches and seven ministers. At first but few preachers came for the single purpose of preaching the Word, and yet there was quite

* See *Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*. By Rev. W. H. Milburn, D.D. New York, Derby and Jackson, 1860. Pp. 349, 350, etc. † Now Pittsburg.

a goodly number who were authorized to administer the sacraments, who had emigrated primarily, as settlers, to improve their temporal prospects. In 1790 there were 18 Baptist churches and 889 members in Tennessee.* About the year 1781 several Baptist preachers and a few members emigrated from Virginia into Kentucky, and in the course of the following year the churches at Cedar Creek and Nelson Creek were organized. In 1783 two others were formed, and, in 1785 nine others. Among their first preachers were the Craigs, the Bledsoes, Bailey, etc. In 1790 they numbered 42 churches, 40 ordained ministers, 21 licensed preachers, and 3,095 members.

The Baptists were the first Protestants to enter Illinois. The conquest of the country by General George R. Clark, in 1778, and the organization of a civil government, by Virginia, soon after, opened the way for American emigration, and as early as 1786 a number of families had settled on the "American Bottom" and the high lands of what is now Monroe County. They came chiefly from western Virginia and Kentucky. In 1787 Rev. James Smith, a Baptist minister in Kentucky, visited these people and preached to them, and some professed conversion; but the first Baptist Church was not organized until May, 1796, at New Design, St. Clair County. In 1805 they had seven churches, five ordained and three licensed ministers, and 153 members. The Baptists were also among the first to organize churches in Ohio. Among the early emigrants to Fort Washington (Cincinnati), were several Baptist families from New Jersey. A Baptist church was constituted at Columbia in 1790 The Miami Association was formed in 1797. In 1800 a number of Baptists from New England settled in the Scioto Valley and formed the Ames Church. No Baptist churches were organized in Indiana and Missouri until after 1800.

The earliest *Presbyterian* emigration from Virginia followed the line of the Holston into eastern Tennessee.. They organized churches in Upper Concord, New Providence, Salem, Mount Bethel, and Chartiers Valley, in 1780; New Bethel, in 1782; Providence, in 1784; and Hopewell, in 1785. In 1785 the Abingdon Presbytery was organized, and in 1797 it numbered, in Tennessee, nineteen congregations. The first preachers were Rev. Messrs. John Cossan, John M. Doak, D.D., Hezekiah Balch, James Balch, Robert Henderson, D.D., Samuel Carrick, and Gideon Blackburn, D.D. Revs Charles Cummings and Samuel Doak, D.D., may be regarded as the founders of Presbyterianism in eastern Tennessee—the former, for

**American Quarterly Register*, August, 1841. Article by Rev. James M. Peck, M.A., of Illinois, pp. 40, etc.

more than thirty years, being devoted to pioneer missionary work, and the latter simultaneously organizing and giving form and stability to the early ecclesiastical beginnings. They mutually supplemented each other in building up and establishing the Church.

The beginnings of Presbyterianism in Kentucky were a little later. In October, 1783, Rev. David Rice, long familiarly called "Father Rice," established a home in Mercer county. He was a man of education, a graduate of Princeton College. In 1784 Revs. Adam Rankin and James Crawford located at Walnut Hill. Two years later Revs. Andrew McClure and Thomas B. Craighead followed. These five ministers, with Rev. Zerah Templin, then recently ordained as an evangelist, constituted the Presbytery of Transylvania, October 17, 1786. Twelve congregations were then partially organized. In 1790 Revs. Robert Marshall and the celebrated Carey H. Allen were sent from Virginia to Kentucky as missionaries.

When Cincinnati was laid out, in 1789, certain lots were dedicated to church and school purposes. The following year "Father Rice," of Kentucky, organized in the place the First Presbyterian Church,* and the first house of worship was erected in 1792.† But the progress was slow, the church being much of the time without a pastor. The growth of the city was very small during the first decade. In 1796 it is said to have been "a small village of log-cabins, including, perhaps, a dozen coarse frame houses with stone chimneys, most of them unfinished."‡ In 1800 it had but 750 inhabitants. In 1799 the Presbytery of Washington, consisting of seven ministers, was formed out of the Transylvania Presbytery, Kentucky, and embraced the field around Cincinnati, on both sides of the Ohio River.§

The earliest introduction of *Methodism* into the west was in the State of Tennessee. In 1785, less than twenty years after its commencement in America, Rev. Messrs. Richard Swift and Michael Gilbert, early itinerants, visited the Holston country. The region through which they traveled and organized their circuits was for the most part rough, mountainous, thinly settled with ignorant and uncultivated people, and exposed to Indian depredations. They were followed by Mark Whitaker and Mark Moore, zealous, plain, "old fashioned Methodist preachers."‖ These in turn were succeeded by Jeremiah Matson, Thomas Ware, Joseph Doddridge,

**History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D. Vol. II p. 123.

† *United States Gazetteer.*

‡ Judge Bennett in *Ohio Historical Society Transactions.*

§ *History of Presbyterian Church.* Gillett, Vol. II, p. 125.

‖ *Sketches of Western Methodism.* By Rev. J. B. Finley, D.D. P. 57.

Jeremiah Able, John Tunnell, John McGee, John West, and others. In the year 1800 the Methodist societies in Tennessee numbered 743 communicants. Methodism was introduced into Kentucky by a few devoted local preachers, among whom were Francis Clark, Wm. J. Thompson, Nathaniel Harris, and the Woodfields, who came with the early tide of emigration from Virginia and North Carolina, soon after the close of the Revolutionary war. But the first itinerant ministers were Revs. James Haw and Benj. Ogden, who were sent to Kentucky in 1786. The next year they reported 90 members. They were successively followed by Rev. Messrs. Thomas Williamson, Francis Poythress, Peter Massie, Benjamin Snelling, Wilson Lee, etc. In 1800 there were 1,741 Methodists in Kentucky.

The first Methodist sermon in Cincinnati was preached in 1793, by a local preacher from Kentucky, named Francis Clark. Toward the close of the year 1795, Rev. James Smith, a local preacher from Virginia, crossed the Ohio River on a tour of inspection, and preached in or near Cincinnati, at the house of a Mr. — Talbert. Again, in 1797, Mr. Smith returned to Ohio and preached in Cincinnati, in the cabin of Mr. — Smalley. He also preached in Columbia and elsewhere, though he did not organize any "class." The first "regular itinerant," Rev. John Kobler, was sent by Bishop Asbury, in 1798, as missionary in "the North-west Territory," as Ohio was then called. He found the site of Cincinnati a dense forest, with only a fort and a few cabins erected in "the clearings" around it. The place was under the command of General Harrison, and was the rendezvous of the forces sent by the Government to guard the frontiers. Here Mr. Kobler desired to preach, but, unlike Mr. Smith, could find no opportunity. He went forth exploring settlements, traversed trackless woods and forded deep streams, forming "classes" and "a circuit." Two years later 257 communicants were reported in Ohio. Kobler became a magistrate, and a member of the convention which formed the constitution of the State of Ohio.

In 1799 Rev. Tobias Gibson, impressed with a strong desire to visit Natchez, offered himself to Bishop Asbury, and was sent to open the way for Methodism on the lower Mississippi, eighteen years before the Mississippi Territory was admitted into the Union. "He set out from Pedee, his native spot, and bent his course toward the Cumberland River. For six hundred miles he traveled through the wilderness. Arriving at the river he sold his horse, bought a canoe, and embarked for twelve hundred miles, with saddle, bridle and saddle-bags, and a supply of provisions. Paddling

himself down the Cumberland he dropped into the Ohio and soon after reached the Mississippi. . . . He continued his solitary course down the great river until he reached Natchez. Here he founded a Methodist church. He subsequently made four land journeys through the wilderness lying between Natchez and the Cumberland to procure additional laborers. In the Minutes of 1800, sixty members were reported as the result of his first year's work.*

The *Congregationalists* came very early to Ohio. In 1788 Marietta was settled by a company of forty-seven persons from Massachusetts under General Rufus Putnam, an intimate and highly-esteemed friend of General Washington, one of the directors of the Ohio Company, and subsequently Surveyor-General of the United States. The enlightened men who managed the affairs of the "Company" in one of their first meetings made arrangements for the support of the Gospel and the instruction of the youth in their new colony. In 1788 Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D., one of the directors, engaged Rev. Daniel Storey, a graduate of Dartmouth College, then preaching in Munson, Mass., to go to the West and serve as chaplain to the new settlements of the company. After a tedious and laborious journey across the Alleghany Mountains, Mr. Storey arrived at Marietta in the spring of 1789,† and commenced his labors as an evangelist. The settlements were new and scattered, some of them at a considerable distance from Marietta; nevertheless he visited them in rotation, in conformity with the arrangements of the directors, according to which he was to preach about one third of the time at the settlements of Wolf Creek and Belpré.

During the Indian war, from 1791 to 1795, Mr. Storey preached the larger portion of the time in the North-west block-house of Campus Martius, the upper room of which was fitted up, with benches and a rude desk, so as to accommodate a hundred persons. This room was also used for a school taught by Major Anselm Tupper, a gentleman of good education, the first school-teacher probably in the North-west. Colonel E. Battelle, a graduate of Harvard College, kept a school about this time at Belpré. These intellectual and spiritual labors were carried on under the direction of the Ohio Company. When the Indians were quiet, Mr. Storey visited other points, fifteen or twenty miles distant from Marietta.

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* Bishop H. N. McTyeire's *History of Methodism*. Southern Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn. 1884. P. 463.

† *Early History of the North-west*. Cincinnati. Hitchcock & Walden. By Samuel P. Hildreth, M. D.

The first Congregational Church in Ohio, composed of persons residing in Marietta, Belpré and Waterford, Ohio, and Vienna, in Virginia, was organized at Marietta, in 1796, by Rev. Mr. Storey. Called to the pastoral charge of the church, and there being no ministers of that persuasion west of the mountains, he returned to the East and was duly ordained, in Danvers, Mass., on the 15th of August, 1797. He maintained his pastoral relation with the church in Marietta until March, 1804. Other colonies of Congregationalists from Massachusetts and Connecticut settled in the north-eastern part of Ohio, called the "Western Reserve," about 1796–7, and in 1800 the Connecticut Missionary Society sent a missionary, Rev. Joseph Badger,* into this region, who organized, at Austinburg, Oct. 21, 1801, the first Congregational church in the "Reserve," consisting of eight males and six females.

Section 4.—Early Privations, etc.

The first preachers in the West shared largely with the people in the hardships and trials of the new country. A primitive state of society greeted them every-where. Deer-skin was a common article of clothing for men and boys, and a blanket or a coverlid served for an overcoat in the winter. Homespun cloth was worn only by the better classes, and this the preachers were glad to obtain. The best dwellings of the settlers for many years were huts or log-cabins; and stools, pots, a "Dutch oven," or no oven at all, with a hard bed of straw or of bear and buffalo skins, constituted the usual furniture. Boxes served for tables. The pioneer preacher was often compelled to sleep on the cold ground in the forest or under the open sky of the prairie. The food of the people was also very simple, with little variety. Often no bread would be had for weeks together. Pumpkins, potatoes, "hog and hominy" were the staple articles in the earlier times, and at some seasons bears' meat, venison, and wild fowl. Bears' oil sometimes took the place of butter.

The idea of erecting churches could not be entertained for a long time after the beginning of the settlements. The cabins, the forts and the forests were the first meeting-houses, and the stumps of trees were the first pulpits. The "howling wilderness" was on every side; the roads only bridle-paths; blazed trees their guide-

* For an account of his labors and privations among these early settlements see *American Quarterly Register*, February, 1841, pp. 322-328.

boards. As there were no bridges the streams were forded on horseback. Religious services were attended from ten to twenty miles around, and those were fortunate who had not more than five or six miles to go. In the earliest times every man came armed. The guns were stacked, and the sentinel was appointed to give an alarm in case of the approach of Indians. The toils and hardships of the ministers were excessive. They shared the common lot of the people in respect to food, clothing and lodging; but their journeys from place to place, to preach, to administer the ordinances and to visit their scattered sheep, made their labors arduous and hazardous. The settled ministers often traveled from fifteen to fifty miles in the discharge of parochial duties, and the early Methodist itinerants were constantly traveling their large circuits four or five hundred miles around. Peter Cartwright facetiously said of one of his large circuits on the frontier, that "it took in one half of creation, for it had no boundary on the west;" and he penetrated six hundred miles due west in pursuit of scattered emigrants. In their journeys the preachers often encountered savage Indians, savage beasts, and sometimes more savage white men. Thus did these heroic men toil to build up Christ's Church.

It was a period of rough, resolute courage and independence, and great controversies were frequent. There were sharp contentions about baptism and pedo-baptism, free grace and predestination, falling from grace, unconditional perseverance, etc., etc. Challenges and public debates were common, and these things, with Indian wars, French intrigues, French infidelity and contentions about State rights, greatly retarded the progress of religion. Infidelity was rife in these western regions at this early period, permeating, as it was estimated, one half of the population of Kentucky. Vice and dissipation flooded the country. It required great boldness to attempt to stem the tide which rolled in with irresistible power every-where.

At the close of the century the Presbyterians and the Methodists sometimes found it necessary to unite their efforts and concert their action for the common cause. This was done in the southern part of Kentucky, where "union meetings" and "sacramental meetings" were held, the two denominations working together as kind and efficient yoke-fellows. In connection with these union efforts the great revival of 1800 commenced, which will constitute the theme of another chapter.*

* Period II, Chapter I.

CHAPTER III.

DIVERSE CURRENTS.

SEC. 1. The Unitarian Trend.
" 2. Universalism.
SEC. 3. The New Jerusalem Church.
" 4. The Shakers.

Section 1.—The Unitarian Trend.

THIS tendency in the New England churches had its inception in the Half-Way Covenant * adopted in 1662. Through the century this leaven had steadily worked, materially changing the current theology of New England.

The Edwardian and Whitefieldian revivals for a time broke the force of this tendency, successfully combated Stoddard's innovation, and led many of the churches back to the old strict terms of membership. In the remainder of the churches, however, the old Calvinistic theology died a speedier death. The strengthening of one class increased the revolt in the other. After the revival the word "Arminian," which had been so much dreaded, grew familiar. The type of thought, however, was not pure Arminianism, but rather Pelagianism mixed with Socinianism. As the term was used it meant Anti-Calvinism. The change had been long and gradual. First, certain church rites crumbled, then the doctrines. There was a new emphasis in behalf of man's free will and ability to gain salvation, and in respect to God's impartiality. There were two parties, and after 1750 they were perceptibly diverging. The new party was rising and extending. The mottoes were, *Few fundamentals; no human creed; only Bible words to express mysteries.* Broad toleration was advocated in ordination and convention sermons, and the examination of candidates for ordination was discarded. The works of English Unitarians were in circulation. The orthodox party were becoming alarmed, grew more defiant, and charged the "Liberals" with evasion. Such was the drift at the close of the Revolution.

* See pp. 100-102, 107, 108, 137, 140, 150-152, 198-201.

Although the schism out of which the Unitarian body was organized did not occur until 1815–1825, yet so deep and extensive was this drift that the exciting events of the Revolution only slightly checked its progress; and in 1786 it was said that "the general tone of thought in Boston was decidedly Unitarian." The elder Edwards and Mayhew had departed; Chauncy and Gray were feeble with advanced age; Styles was in his meridian at Yale College; Dwight was a rising light; Emerson and Ware had just commenced their ministry; Channing and Beecher were boys; Norton and Buckminster were tender babes; and Hopkins and Belamy were leading a small party in an effort to relieve orthodoxy of the odiousness of High Calvinism. It was at such a time that the first open avowal of Unitarianism in the United States was made in the city of Boston, not among the Congregationalists, but among the Episcopalians.

King's Chapel the First Unitarian Church in America.

When the British troops left Boston all the Episcopal clergy went with them, and King's Chapel was occupied by the "Old South" congregation while they were repairing the injuries to their house made by the English soldiery who had occupied it. In 1782 the remaining proprietors of King's Chapel determined to restore the Episcopal form of worship. In the absence of a regular clergyman Mr. James Freeman, a rising young man and a recent graduate of Harvard College, was employed to read the liturgy. "He was attached to the ritual, but had yet to frame his theological opinions. He gave himself to the current of free investigation, and no ecclesiastical authority restrained his progress or menaced him with public annoyance. Some changes in the Common Prayer were required by the change in the political relations, and after a time Freeman avowed his wish to change, with them, those parts in which the Trinity was acknowledged. . . . By a vote of twenty to seven the proprietors of the chapel adopted the ritual with its proposed alterations. He asked in vain for orders from the new bishops in the United States, and in 1787 the warden * proceeded deliberately to ordain him, seventeen proprietors protesting." † The amendment to the liturgy was adopted June 19, 1785, which may be regarded as the date of the formation of the first Unitarian Church in

* The warden "laid one hand upon him and with the other delivered to him the Bible." *Lindsay's Vindication*, p. 25.

† *Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England*, p. 37.

America. "Thus the first Episcopal Church in New England became the first Unitarian Church in the New World." *

In London a Mr. Lindsay, a friend of Freeman, had just tried a similar experiment. They conferred together. Freeman told him the whole story—how shy the public were at first; how Dr. Priestley's books were being read, and other books of English Unitarians; how many of the clergy had given up the Trinitarian doxology; that there was only one minister in New England who openly preached "the Socinian scheme," although "there are many churches in which the worship is strictly Unitarian, and some of New England's most eminent laymen openly avow that creed."

"Although Dr. Freeman was the first who in this country openly preached Unitarianism under that name, he never claimed the credit of that movement, but referred to Dr. Mayhew and others as having preached the same doctrine before. This was no doubt true. . . . Yet as he was the first to avow and defend the doctrine by its distinct name he may be considered as its first preacher." †

Before his death he became a decided humanitarian. ‡ Revs. Aaron Bancroft, of Worcester, and William Bentley, of Salem, classmates of Freeman in Harvard College, were also among the first to adopt these views. Bentley was very learned and bold. Of him Hon. Edward Everett said, at his funeral, "He dared to *speak* what others did not dare to *think*."

In 1794 Dr. Priestley, the distinguished leader in the Unitarian ranks in England, and a decided humanitarian, came to this country to spend the remainder of his days. His great talents and learning were universally acknowledged; but not much was accomplished by his efforts to promote the spread of Unitarianism here.§ He preached to a small congregation in Northumberland, Pa., where he resided, but his lectures in Philadelphia drew large audiences. Hon. Thomas Jefferson was much influenced by him, adopting some of his opinions in the latter part of his life.

On the 12th of June, 1796, thirteen persons holding Unitarian views assembled in Philadelphia to establish religious worship; but the growth of the congregation was slow and their services were several times entirely suspended. The new leaven was steadily working in Boston, and Dr. Bradford has said, "It was confidently believed that there was not a strict Trinitarian clergyman in Boston in 1800."

* Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel.*

† Sprague's *Annals of the Unitarian Pulpit*, p. 169.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 173. § *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 11.

‖ *Life of Mayhew*, p. 468. He probably meant in the Congregational churches. See more fully on this point, Period II, Chap. VI.

The Attitude.

The first marked victory which the "liberal" party in New England gained occurred in the early part of the last century, "in the defeat of the Mathers and the ascendency of the Brattles, Leveretts and Willards, in the administration of Harvard College." The founders of the Brattle Street Church, who were leaders of this movement, "headed the social and intellectual tendency that developed itself into Unitarianism." But the most sensitive point in the earlier stages of the movement was practical liberty, a revulsion against the party of Edwards and Whitefield, who endeavored to restore the old practice of doctrinal tests and the relation of Christian experience. It was a contest against what was called ecclesiastical proscription. This practical protest was very soon vindicated by new metaphysical theories in regard to man's moral nature and spiritual capabilities, at variance with the old doctrines of necessity, depravity, regeneration, justification by faith, the atonement, the character and person of Christ and, at a later period, of the Trinity also. While they could not submit to the rigid discipline and the exacting creeds of the older divines, they nevertheless, for the most part, cherished sterling Christian principles and a high sense of personal responsibility. They intended to remain in the Church, but meant to contend for liberty of thought and action. They were supported by a large share of the wealth, culture, civil influence and social distinction of the New England churches. Nor was the spirit of this period of a controversial character, but calm, yet independent.

Freeman, in a letter to Belsham, in 1795, thus described the attitude of the new party.

> I am acquainted with a number of ministers in the southern part of Massachusetts who avow and publicly preach Unitarian doctrine; while others, more cautious, content themselves with leading their hearers, by a course of rational and prudent sermons, gradually and insensibly to embrace it.

In some cases the line of demarcation between the two schools was very slight. Such men as Belknap and Eliot differed from the majority of the liberalists. Rejecting the Athanasian creed, they accepted the "indwelling scheme," without assailing the Trinitarian theology as such, and spoke of God as Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as a few Unitarians of a later period have done. Some prominent ministers of this party, down to the close of the last century, and also in the earlier part of the present, refused to be called Anti-Trinitarians, while nevertheless they rejected what they called

"Tritheism." Others preferred Athanasius to Arius; some set forth "a Trinity of divine manifestations," which has been facetiously called "the effective evolution, or the differentiating and integrating of the unity of the Divine Being." Diversity of opinion, however, cannot be regarded as peculiar to this period, but it has been characteristic of this movement from its inception to the present time, only with an ever-increasing divergence, as will be shown in the sketches of its subsequent history.

Section 2.—Universalism.

In a previous chapter,* the inceptive stages of a revolt against extreme Calvinism toward Universalism were sketched. It was shown to be confined to no single locality, but was apparent in all sections and in all classes of minds.

But two men stand forth more conspicuous than any others as the founders of Universalism in this country, and are referred to by the Universalists themselves as the patriarchs and pioneers of the denomination—Revs. John Murray and Elhanan Winchester.

Of these Mr. Murray occupies the more prominent position, having been currently styled The Father of Universalism in the United States because of the extent and publicity of his labors, and his success in awakening public attention to his doctrines and in founding societies of that faith. Originally a Whitefieldian Methodist, he was converted to Universalism by Rev. James Relley, of London. He held to the doctrine of the trinity, substitutional atonement, the peculiar saving efficacy of divine grace through faith in Christ, regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Ghost, a personal devil, the resurrection of the literal body, the future general judgment, resulting in the salvation of all men, and a literal hell, in which devils will be punished forever. Mr. Murray entertained very high views upon the question, What constitutes a Universalist? Speaking of some "who," he says, "are not heart believers, but only head believers," and "who contend that because Jesus is the Saviour of all men therefore they will be saved," he says:

> I am more and more convinced that nothing but the spirit and power of God can make a consistent Universalist. Do you ask me what it is that constitutes a consistent Universalist? I answer, a consistent Universalist must be taught of God, and under the influence of the Divine Spirit. †

* See Colonial Era, Chapter VIII. Diverse Currents, pp. 194-211.

† See *Hints Relative to the Forming of a Christian Church.* A pamphlet. By Rev. John Murray. Boston, 1791, p. 45.

Speaking of those who "suppose that all will be on a level in the article of death," he says:

> Neither in life nor death, in the body or out of the body, can any of the ransomed of the Lord be saved from misery till they are made acquainted with God as their Saviour; and though in death the spirit does not go with the body into the dust, and must be under the eye of the Father of Spirits, yet "where Christ is," that is, in "fullness of joy," they never can be till they have peace and joy in believing; no, he who dies in unbelief lies down in sorrow and will rise in the resurrection of damnation, or, more properly, condemnation.*

He regarded the Bible as teaching the judgment as *past and present*, and also *yet to come*. "The *past* judgment" was "by Christ, when on earth." "Now is the judgment of this world." "The *present* judgment" is that in which "every one taught of God judges himself." "Judge yourselves, and ye shall not be judged." "The judgment *yet to come*" is that of "the last great day," in which all who have not judged themselves, all unbelievers of the human race and all fallen angels through whose influence the unbelieving part of mankind are held in darkness and blindness, shall be judged by the Saviour of the world; but these two characters shall then be separated—one placed on the right hand and the other on the left—the one, the "sheep," for whose salvation he laid down his life; the other, "accursed," whose nature he passed by. In that future judgment, believers who have judged themselves shall not be judged, nor will they be present.†

Rev. Elhanan Winchester,

pastor of a Baptist church in Philadelphia, avowed himself a Restorationist in 1781. He was converted to these views by reading the works of Siegvolck and Stonehouse. Like Mr. Murray, he was a deeply devoted and zealous man, of respectable literary qualifications, and their theological views seem not to have differed, except in regard to the punishment of the wicked after the future general judgment, which Mr. Winchester taught would result in the holiness and happiness of all men. But Mr. Murray denied that there would be any misery after the general judgment.

Mr. Winchester was very definite and positive in his views of future retribution, holding to a literal hell, literal fire and brimstone, whose torment will be strictly penal, which he proclaimed in the most terrific strains, and the duration of which he taught would be unequal, in different cases; in some extending to forty-nine thousand years. This period he seems to have deduced from a

* *Hints Relative to the Forming of a Christian Church.* † Murray's *Hints*, pp. 9, 10, 33.

fanciful interpretation of certain prophetic types and numbers. He died in Hartford, Conn., in 1797, at the early age of forty-six years, leaving behind him more than forty volumes and pamphlets, but few of which now exist except in rare libraries. He had been very zealous and extensive in his labors, preaching seven years in England, where he made many converts to his views, as well as in this country.

Dr. Charles Chauncy,

of Boston, has been before alluded to.* His book † on this subject, (*The Mystery Hid from Ages; or the Salvation of All Men the Grand Thing Aimed at in the Scheme of God*) was published anonymously in London, 1784, although written about twenty years before. With his characteristic caution he first published in Boston, in 1782, a pamphlet of twenty-six pages of extracts from the volume. It advocated the final restoration of all men to holiness and happiness as a doctrine of the Bible. A sharp controversy was immediately awakened. Two replies to his pamphlet appeared, one written by Rev. Samuel Mather, D.D., pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Boston, and the other by Rev. Joseph Eckley, D.D., of the "Old South." Mr. Shippie Townsend, of Boston, a layman, also participated in the debate. After his volume was published, in 1784, the controversy took a wider range, and in the midst of it, in 1787, he died, aged eighty-two years. Two years after Chauncy's death, Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D.D., of New Haven, published an able volume in reply to Dr. Chauncy. Dr. Belknap said, "The Chauncy controversy engaged every body's attention more or less."‡

The extent of this tendency to these views may be judged from the following testimonies: Rev. Nathan Strong, D.D., of Hartford, Conn., in 1796, said: "This error (disbelief in future punishment) is not confined to those who are commonly called Universalists. There is a more numerous class of people who have not, and perhaps never

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*See Colonial Era, Chapter IV. Diverse Currents, p. 206. † 8vo., pp. 400.

‡See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit.* Volume on Unitarian Ministers, p. 77.

NOTE.—Dr. Chauncy seems to have had some knowledge of Murray's preaching in Boston and vicinity before his book was published, and to have had no sympathy with his theory of universal salvation without future punishment. Being a Restorationist he protested against Mr. Murray's teachings as dangerous in their influence. In the preface to his volume he says: "The doctrine of universal salvation has in this and some other towns been held forth by a stranger, who has, of himself, assumed the character of a *preacher*, in direct contradiction not only to all the beforetime writers, but to the *whole tenor of New Testament books*, from their beginning to end. According to this *preacher* a man may go to heaven notwithstanding all the sins he has been guilty of in the course of his life. Such doctrine looks very like an *encouragement* to libertinism, and falls in with the scheme of too many in this degenerate age, who, under the pretense of *promoting religion, undermine it* at the *very root.* It is certainly fitted to this end, and has already had this effect upon many."

will, separate from the other denominations of professed Christians."* Rev. Bishop Meād, of Virginia, has said, "It was not an uncommon thing for Universalism to be preached by the Virginia clergy, in the last quarter of the last century.†

These early Universalists seem not, however, to have united in general movements. Dr. Chauncy never met with Murray and Winchester; and Mr. Winchester moved in an orbit entirely his own, except on two occasions. Once he occupied Murray's pulpit, in Boston, and he was present with Murray at the first general convention of Universalists, in Oxford, Mass., in 1785, where he preached a sermon of which Murray speaks favorably in his *Autobiography*. This convention was a small body, made up of only three ministers and delegates from the societies at Gloucester, Boston, Milford, and Oxford. The third minister was Rev. Caleb Rich. We have no evidence of any united action of Mr. Winchester with Mr. Murray at any other time.

Murray and Winchester.

The differences between these two men, although not numerous, were very decided, Murray being absolutely and uncompromisingly opposed to the doctrine of the punishment of sinners, even for a limited period, in the future world, and Winchester preaching and writing upon it in the most flaming and alarming strains.‡

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*See reply to Dr. Huntington's book, *Calvinism Improved*. By Rev. Nathan Strong, D.D., of Hartford. 1796. P. 11.

†See *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*. By Bishop Wm. Meade. Vol. I, p. 183. He cites Rev. Messrs. Yancy, of Louisa, and Talley, of Gloucester, Va.

‡At this point a controversy has arisen between Universalists of a later period. We occasionally find it stated in the Universalist literature of the last fifty years that Murray was a Restorationist. It was not an uncommon thing to meet this assertion, from 1823 to 1838, in the writings of Revs. Adin Ballou, Paul Dean, and others, who were the leaders in a split in the denomination, in favor of Restorationism, which then occurred. In their circular, sent out at that time, they say that "there has been of late years a great departure from the sentiments of the first Universalist preachers in this country," and that they "believe with Murray, Winchester, Chauncy, and the ancient authors who have written upon this subject, in future rewards and punishments, to be followed by the final restoration of all mankind to holiness and happiness." But these assertions were ably and unanswerably refuted by Rev. Thomas Whittemore, then editor of the *Trumpet*, by abundant quotations from Mr. Murray's writings, explicitly declaring his dissent from Mr. Winchester's doctrine of Restorationism. And yet, in *The Universalist*, February 11, 1871, Rev. Adin Ballou re-asserts the same thing, declaring that the Universalist denomination "was originally Restorationist in faith, and so remained, in doctrinal exposition, till after the year 1815." "The doctrine of universal salvation, without any disciplinary punishment after death, was advocated by certain persons in England and America before and after the Universalist Convention in 1785, but was strongly denounced by Winchester and Murray, the leading founders of that convention." "Hosea Ballou was the first preacher (at least of any note) inside the Universalist denomination who advocated universal salvation without any disciplinary punishment after death, some time between 1815 and 1820." Such were Rev. Adin Ballou's assertions, notwithstanding the demonstrations of Mr. Whittemore to the contrary, from thirty to forty years ago, over and over again in the *Trumpet*.

A brief statement of the peculiar views of these two leading founders of American Universalism is necessary, that the character of the opinions in this early period may be understood, and the drift of sentiment in more recent times may be more distinctly apprehended and appreciated. Mr. Winchester has stated his views of the punishment of the wicked in these words.

> Some suppose that all punishment and pain shall end at the coming of Christ, and mankind at once shall be restored; but destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity and to those who refuse to submit to the Lord; and as for punishment ceasing when he first comes, it is a mistake of great magnitude, for the punishment of the wicked will continue ages of ages after the day of judgment.*

Again he says:

> They can never be loosed from it until they are wholly subdued.†

To a friend Mr. Murray said, in regard to the doctrine of restoration:

> Mr. Winchester considers weak, ruined individuals as paying their own debts; yea, to the uttermost farthing. I see no strength but in Christ Jesus; be you assured, therefore, I am not of Mr. Winchester's school.‡

Again he says:

> A second class of Universalists insist on purgatorial satisfaction, according to which every man must come to be his own saviour; for if I must suffer as much in my own person as will satisfy Divine justice, how is or how can Jesus Christ be my saviour? If this purgatorial doctrine be true, the ministry of reconciliation committed to the apostles must be false, to wit: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing unto them their trespasses." In fact, I know no description of people further from Christianity, true Christianity, than such Universalists. . . . As I descend into the vale of life these discoveries give me a touch of sorrow, and I anticipate a harvest of evil. §

In these extracts, more of which might be given, Mr. Murray explicitly declares that he is "not of Mr. Winchester's school," and joins direct issue with Restorationists.

Mr. Murray believed that all men had broken the law of God, and were all, therefore, justly exposed to its penalties, that these penalties had been fully suffered by Christ for us on the cross, and that "His punishment on the cross was our punishment for sin." Hence, strictly speaking, Mr. Murray did not hold to punishment for sin either in this life or in the next, for Christ had suffered all the punishment due to sin, and every man must be saved by faith, by a personal acceptance of Christ. Hence the miseries attendant upon unbelief will continue as long as unbelief shall continue, whether in this world or the next; but he regarded them as unavoidable consequences, and not penalties. It is these unavoidable consequences of sin and unbe-

* Winchester on the Prophecies. Vol I, p. 265.
† Murray's Letters. Vol. II, p. 263
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 278.
§ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 130.

lief, and not punishment for them, which will extend into the future world, because sin and unbelief will exist there. Mr. Winchester held to a day of judgment after death, at which men would be sentenced to punishment; but the judgment in which Dr. Murray believed was designed to deliver men from all sin and unbelief, by revealing to them the character of God, "showing the things that belong to their peace," and "making them acquainted with salvation." "In that day all knees should bow and accept Christ and enter into eternal rest." *

The early conventions of 1785 and 1803, and of the intervening period also, embraced men of the two schools, Murray's and Winchester's, who agreed as to the final happiness of all men; and in the platform which was adopted in 1803 the differences were ignored, as in the second Article:

> We believe in one God, whose nature is Love, revealed in our Lord Jesus Christ by one Holy Spirit of grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness.

Such was the condition of things during the first period of Universalism. 1. It was a departure from the generally accepted evangelical theology chiefly at one point—the final salvation of all men. It had no taint of Unitarianism or of Rationalism. 2. Murray held to the salvation of all men at the general judgment, and that unbelievers would be in a state of misery until that time; not penal, but the natural consequence of sin and unbelief, † Christ having endured the penalty for them. 3. Winchester held to a local hell and a long period of disciplinary punishment after the general judgment,

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* See *Trumpet*, August 11, 1832. Also Murray's *Hints to the Forming of a Church*. Boston, 1792.

† In further confirmation of the decidedly evangelical character of the views of Mr. Winchester on all points except that of the final restoration of all men, we adduce the following testimony from Rev. Enoch Mudge, the first native Methodist preacher raised up in New England. In a letter in *Zion's Herald*, March, 1827, he gave an account of an interview which he had with Mr. Winchester a short time before his death, in which Mr. Winchester related his conversations with Rev. John Wesley, whom he had frequently met in England, in the latter part of his life. In those conversations their doctrinal agreements and disagreements were freely discussed.

"In stating the points of agreement (with Mr. Wesley) I well recollect," said Mr. Mudge, "Mr. Winchester commenced with a view of the doctrine of the depravity of man in his fallen state, a full and complete atonement by Christ, the necessity of repentance and regeneration, of justification by faith, of sanctification. On this he enlarged fully, observing that the doctrine was the same; their only difference was in the *manner* of preaching it. He also dwelt on the similarity of their views with regard to the general calls and invitations of the Gospel, the moral accountability of man and of future rewards and punishments—the necessity of being holy in order to be happy. Thus far," said he, "we could usually preach in nearly the same strain; but *when we went to speak of the nature and duration of the punishment of the wicked, we differed*, Mr. Wesley supposing the state of probation to close with the present life, and that the states of all men are unalterably fixed in the day of judgment. He viewed punishment as penal and eternal; as chastisatory and designed for reclaiming the criminal, and that when reclaimed they shall be restored."

resulting in the final salvation of all men. In what proportion these different opinions then prevailed in the denomination we have no means of judging.

The first Universalist society in the United States was organized by Rev. John Murray, in Gloucester, Mass., January, 1779. At the end of the first ten years from the landing of Murray, there were two societies and four or five ministers. In 1801 there were twenty-two preachers of that faith in America.*

Section 3.—The New Jerusalem Church.

was introduced into the United States during this period. In the life-time of Emanuel Swedenborg there were but few individuals who were known to have cordially received the doctrines taught in his writings. Swedenborg did nothing, and there was nothing done in his day to effect an organization of those who accepted the doctrines taught by him. Swedenborg lived many years in London for the purpose of publishing his works, and died there, in 1772, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

In 1782 a society was formed in Manchester to print and publish Swedenborg's volumes in the English language. This society is still in active existence. In 1783 meetings were established in London for reading Swedenborg's works and for free conversation, and the first public meeting was held the same year. Those who attended it were so highly gratified that they determined to promote their "plan of holding up to the view of the world a light which could no longer be concealed in a secret place nor hid under a bed or a bushel." Rooms were immediately engaged, and advertisements were inserted in some of the newspapers giving a general invitation to all the readers of Swedenborg's writings in London and elsewhere, to join the Standard, "and by a common exertion to assist in extending the knowledge of them." This advertisement was immediately noticed by Mr. James Glen, a Scotch gentleman, about to settle in Demarara, in South America. He introduced himself to the newly-formed society at its second meeting. Mr. Glen had accepted the doctrines of the New Church from reading the treatise on *Heaven and Hell* while on the ocean, on his return to Europe from America, where he had been to purchase a plantation, the book having been presented to him by the captain of the vessel on which he sailed.

* *Universalist Centennial Volume*, p. 35.

Meetings for worship soon grew out of these first meetings for study and conversation, and the next year, 1784, in the month of June, Mr. James Glen, who had now reached the United States, delivered public lectures in Philadelphia—the first promulgation of the doctrines of the New Church on the continent of America. These lectures were well attended, and some of those who were present became the first receivers of these doctrines in the New World. Mr. Glen traveled in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, for the purpose of making these doctrines known. He also gave lectures in Boston not long after. He had brought with him from England such English translations of these writings as were there published; and after he had left for Demarara a further supply of books from England gave opportunity for others to study the writings of the Church. The work of republication was immediately begun and earnestly prosecuted.

In 1795 Rev. Wm. Hill came to America from England. He preached new Church doctrines in Massachusetts—in Boston, Dedham, Cambridge, and Salem. He went back to England, but afterward returned to this country, where he died, in Philadelphia, in the year 1804. His wife was a daughter of Rev. Jacob Duché, rector of St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia, and chaplain to the first Continental Congress. In the year 1792 a sermon explaining the doctrines of the New Church was preached in the courthouse in Baltimore, Md., by Rev. James Wilmer, formerly a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Others took up the work. Among the most efficient laborers was Rev. John Hargrove who had been a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first regularly organized society of the New Church in this country which continued in existence was formed in Baltimore, in the year 1798, under the ministry of Rev. Ralph Mather and Rev. John Hargrove. Mr. Mather was an Englishman, and had preached in England. Mr. James Glen, who attended the second public meeting in London, and who first made known the doctrines of the New Church in Philadelphia, was the first who lectured upon them in Boston. A few years after Mr. Glen was followed, as has been said, by Rev. Wm. Hill, who presented the *Arcana Celestia*, and a number of the smaller works of Swedenborg, in Latin, to the college library at Cambridge, Mass. A small number of persons were led by his labors to receive the doctrines taught in Swedenborg's writings.*

* The author is indebted to Rev. Samuel M. Worcester, M.D., of Salem, Mass., for the foregoing sketch.

Section 4.—The Shakers.

These religionists arose in Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1705 they appeared in England. In 1757 Mrs. Ann Lee joined the Society and soon became its conspicuous head. In 1774 she came to the United States and settled in Watervliet, near Albany, N. Y. In a religious revival among the Baptists, at New Lebanon, Columbia County, in 1780, some of those most visibly affected visited "Mother Lee," and through her were led to believe that they had found the "key to their experiences." Mother Lee traveled widely several years, performing alleged miracles, broaching the idea of a community of property, forming her followers into a model for Shaker organizations, and died in 1784. James Whitaker, called "Father James," who came from England with her, succeeded her at the head of the organization, and died in 1787. The same year, Joseph Meacham, a Baptist preacher, and a convert of Mother Lee, collected her followers in a settlement in New Lebanon, which thenceforth became a center of union. Under his administration in the course of five years eleven Shaker settlements were founded; namely, at New Lebanon and Watervliet, N. Y.; at Hancock, Tyringham, Harvard and Shirley, Mass.; at Enfield, Conn.; at Canterbury and Enfield, N. H.; and at Alfred and New Gloucester, Me. No other societies were formed until after 1800.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FRENCH-AMERICAN INFIDELITY.

SEC. 1. Type of French Unbelief.
" 2. Introduction into America.
" 3. Skepticism Among Statesmen.
SEC. 4. Infidel Organizations.
" 5. Testimonies.

THE most serious opposing influence encountered by Christianity during this period was the gross infidelity which then abounded, surpassing in virulence, extent and influence all manifestations of skepticism in previous or more recent periods. The rising spirit of "free inquiry"* in the colonial period has been briefly sketched in previous pages, and was traced to its twofold origin—deism in England and atheism in France, but reaching the colonies through English channels. It will now be seen coming from another source.

Section 1.—Peculiar Type of French Unbelief.

Although somewhat later in its origin than the English, French infidelity soon outstripped the former in the evil race, and exerted a wider and more destructive influence. About the time of the American Revolution, French deism culminated in atheism; atheism and naturalism, in materialism. Doubt soon became almost universal, and scoffing burst into "a scream of maniac rage." The growing climax of skepticism which had been rising through the century reached its height in France among the most active, daring, witty and philosophic minds of that age. There, too, infidelity became organized, and from that burning focus it went forth upon its evil mission. We cannot pause to speak at length of the apostles of the movement nor of the passion and genius with which they entered upon their work.

By jibes and jeers corrupting the moral sensibilities, by shining sophistries and soft subtleties of sentiment relaxing the moral sense, by specious generalities upon personal liberty and freedom of

* Pp. 194–196.

thought sifted into its literature, then every-where eagerly sought for, French infidelity went forth to intoxicate the world with its false but delicious dreams. Men laughed at the brilliant Satanic wit of Voltaire, wept in sympathy with the exquisite romance of Rousseau, and stood in wonder, or followed in hesitating thought those master magicians, the Encyclopedists, as they pursued their problem of reconstructing the universe without a God. It summoned to its aid the handmaids of the highest culture; Criticism dipped her pen in venom and performed its most destructive service; Art chiseled its ideas into marble, traced them in glowing colors upon canvas, and warbled them in most entrancing strains; Poetry invested them with charms of imagination and measure; History, becoming a colored glass, vitiated the testimony of the past; while Philosophy degraded herself to the profane vocation of undermining human society under the specious pretense of emancipating it.

There was one extenuating condition which, however, only became more deceptive and ruinous. In France, infidelity was largely a revolt against a most gigantic and relentless despotism with which religion had become identified during a long period of papal intrigue and misrule; and the revolutions which it instigated were professedly in the interest of popular deliverance.

Section 2.—Introduction into America.

To Americans infidelity was introduced in plausible forms in connection with the ideas of liberty and self-government then very popular. Statesmen and scholars were the first victims. In a short time French styles of thought became fashionable in the higher classes of society, more especially in some of the Middle and Southern States, among gentlemen who had traveled in Europe, the wits and sprightly young men in the colleges, and the extreme Republicans. In addition to these things, peculiarly friendly relations existed between our countrymen and the French people. They had assisted the American colonies in the war of the Revolution—a fact which had considerable influence in predisposing many leading Americans toward French thought. Imbibing their ideas, men in high official positions through a long period of years gave them the benefit of their favor.

Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, writing of this period, with the circumstances of which he was personally familiar, said:

Youths, particularly, who had been liberally educated, and who, with strong passions and feeble principles, were votaries of sensuality and ambition, delighted in the prospect of unrestrained gratification, and, panting to be enrolled with men of fashion and splendor, became enamored with the new doctrines. The tenor of opinion, and even of conversation, was to a considerable extent changed at once. Striplings scarcely fledged suddenly found that the world had been involved in general darkness through the long succession of preceding ages, and that the light of wisdom had just begun to dawn upon the human race. All the science, all the information that had been acquired before the last thirty or forty years stood in their view for nothing. Experience they boldly proclaimed a plodding instructress who taught in manners, morals and government nothing but abecedarian lessons, fitted for children only. Religion they discovered, on the one hand, to be a vision of dotards and nurses, and, on the other, a system of fraud and trick, imposed by priestcraft for base purposes upon the ignorant multitude. Revelation was found to be without authority or evidence, and moral obligation a cobweb which might, indeed, entangle flies, but by which creatures of stronger wing nobly disdained to be confined. The world they resolutely concluded to have been, probably, eternal, and matter the only existence. Man, they determined, sprung like a mushroom out of the earth like a chemical process; and the power of thinking, choice and motivity were merely the result of elective affinities. If, however, there was a God, and man was a created being, he was created only to be happy. As, therefore, animal pleasure is the only happiness, so they resolved that the enjoyment of that pleasure is the only end of his creation.

At this period Europe, which annually ships to our shores a vast quantity of useful merchandise, and together with it a proportional assortment of toys and mischief, consigned to these States a plentiful supply of the means of corruption. From France, Germany and Great Britain, the dregs of infidelity were vomited upon us. From the *System de la Nature* and the *Philosophical Dictionary*, down to the *Political Justice* of Godwin, and the *Age of Reason*, the whole mass of pollution was emptied upon this country. The last two publications flowed in upon us as a deluge. An enormous edition of the *Age of Reason* was published in France and sent over to America to be sold at a few pence per copy, and, where it could not be sold, to be given away.* But I am losing both you and myself in this forest of enormities. Future ages will hardly believe that any part of this portentous story could pass for truth with men of acknowledged wisdom and piety. Nothing, however, is more certain.†

Section 3.—Skepticism Among Statesmen, Generals, etc.

Theoretical infidelity was unknown in the earlier colonial period. The Colony of Virginia was entirely exempt until near the middle of the last century. When the first infidel book was imported into Virginia, some time subsequent to 1730, it produced such an excite-

* It has been asserted by a good authority that the infidels of France raised among themselves in the course of several years three million francs for the purpose of purchasing, printing, and distributing books to corrupt the minds of the people.

† Dwight's *Travels*. Vol. IV, pp. 376, 379, 380.

ment that the governor and commissary communicated with the authorities in England. Subsequently infidelity overran the State and her public men were borne away by its influence.

It has become a familiar fact that many of the rising statesmen of Revolutionary fame were seriously in bondage to French skepticism. Some should be exonerated from this charge. It is well known that General Washington and Patrick Henry escaped the contagion, though they have been incorrectly classed with the skeptics of their time. Washington, in his address to the governors of the States in 1783, referred to "the pure and benign light of revelation," and "the Divine Author of our blessed religion." Of Patrick Henry, Bishop Meade * said, "He had an abhorrence of infidelity. Early in life he was a deeply interested attendant upon the ministry of Rev. Samuel Davies, D.D., and later in life he wrote an answer to Paine's *Age of Reason*, though it was never published. Concerning Edmund Randolph, we have his own testimony in a letter: "When we were united (married) I was a deist, made so by my confidence in some whom I revered, and by the labors of my two preceptors, who, though of the ministry, poisoned me with books on infidelity." He was afterward recovered from the snare by the example and prayers of his pious wife.†

Hon. Thomas Jefferson for a long time yielded to the skepticism of his times, and General Charles Lee was noted for the boldness of his infidelity and his reckless blasphemy. In his will he instructed his survivors "not to bury him in any church or church-yard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house." ‡

As late as 1810, says Bishop Meade:

> Infidelity was rife in the State, and the College of William and Mary was regarded as the hot-bed of French politics and religion. I can truly say that then and for some years after in every educated young man in Virginia whom I met I expected to find a skeptic, if not an avowed unbeliever.§ Infidelity became rife in Virginia, perhaps, beyond any other portion of the land. The clergy for the most part were a laughing stock or objects of disgust.‖

Even Bishop Madison became subject to the suspicion of infidelity, though unjustly. General Dearborn, Secretary of War under Jefferson, was an avowed unbeliever. On one occasion when traveling in a public stage-coach from Washington, D. C., he declared it to be his opinion that, "So long as those temples stand (alluding to

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* *Old Families and Churches of Virginia.* Vol. II, p. 12.
† *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 182.
‡ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 368.
§ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 29.
‖ *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 52.

the church edifices) we cannot hope for order and good government." Passing by a meeting-house in Connecticut, he pointed at it and with the utmost scorn exclaimed: "Look at that painted nuisance."

The Framers of the Constitution.

It will not be questioned that many of the framers of the Constitution of the United States were deeply imbued with the ideas of the French atheistical school.* Recently it has been a matter of boasting that "the great founders of our Government were heretics," and that "the Government of the United States is not, in any sense, founded upon the Christian religion." †

It is well known that in the convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution of the United States, great difficulty was experienced in harmonizing upon various conflicting questions, and at one time in the course of their deliberations it was feared that all their efforts to find a common basis of union would utterly fail. Many days passed and they made no progress. Finally, on the 28th of June, Hon. Benjamin Franklin arose in the convention and expressed a regret that they had had no religious devotion during their session, and proposed that a chaplain be engaged to implore the Divine blessing and guidance, each morning, during the remainder of the session. His speech was a beautiful and appropriate recognition of dependence upon God for guidance and success. Hon. Roger Sherman seconded the motion. Hon. Alexander Hamilton and others feared lest prayers being introduced at that late day should excite among those outside a suspicion of dissensions within, and lead to some disagreeable animadversions. Others suggested that the convention had no funds. Some other strange and inconsistent pleadings were made, and finally, says Hon. James Madison, in his *History of the Debates of the Convention*, "after several unsuccessful attempts for silently postponing the matter, by adjourning, the adjournment was at length carried, without any vote on the motion." No further action was had, and not a single prayer was offered in the entire session of the convention which framed our national Constitution. Is it strange that a convention which allowed

* A writer in the *Index* (Toledo), May 13, 1871, said: "All the great men who took part with Mr. Paine in laying the foundations of the Government of the United States, with very few exceptions, held the same theological sentiments" (as he did), although "they did not publicly identify themselves with him in his attacks upon the Church and its religion." "And they would have completely revolutionized the sentiments of the American people but for the influence of George Whitefield and John Wesley."

† Mr. T. W. Higginson, in Horticultural Hall Discourse, Boston, January 12, 1873.

no recognition of God in its deliberations, should have framed an instrument in which God is not acknowledged?*

The statesmen of this period are entitled to great credit for their intellectual abilities and resources, forming a constellation of the first magnitude in the realm of mind. The spirit inspiring the Revolution, and the energy in counsel and in action demanded by the memorable crises from 1773 to 1787, fostered and developed the strongest intellectual powers, and a nobility of character belonging to a superior order. We honor their abilities, are grateful for their services and admire their heroism. But their minds were evidently tainted with the subtle poison of French philosophy, vitiating their religious perceptions.

Section 4.—Infidel Organizations.

Infidel clubs were very common at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, in the Middle and in some of the Southern States, on the same plan and in affiliation with those in France. An early memoir of Hon. Thomas Jefferson, published in 1809, says:

A society of *Illuminati*, or, more properly called by themselves, *Illumines*, had been established in Virginia. It consisted of one hundred members, had its regular officers as well as members, and was set afoot in 1786 by the GRAND ORIENT of France. From this society a deputy was sent to reside with the mother society in France, in order to hold communication between the infidels and revolutionists of the two countries, and to give the American society its instructions. In New York there was another society of the same kind, out of which fourteen others at least had sprung.

The following testimony, from a well-accredited source, will still more fully show the character and tendency of the infidelity and its affiliated clubs at this period:

I knew a party formed more than fifty years ago (about 1786), in Orange County and Smith's Cove, in the State of New York, for the avowed purpose of destroying Christianity and religious government. They claimed the right to in-

* "The opinion that the religious defect of the Constitution is due to the irreligion of some of the leading statesmen of the time is sustained by the testimony of Dr. Franklin, who, in reference to his motion for prayers in the convention, 'imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessings upon our deliberations,' sadly wrote that, 'with but few exceptions the convention thought prayers for Divine guidance unnecessary.' And further, by that of Luther Martin, a delegate from Maryland, who, in a letter to the Legislature of that State, said 'there were some members so unfashionable as to think that a belief in the existence of a Deity, and of a state of future rewards and punishments, would be some security for the good conduct of our rulers.'" *Letter of Hon. Felix R. Brunot, of Pittsburg, to the Convention to Consider the Subject of Inserting a Recognition of the Divine Being in the Constitution of the United States. Held in Boston, Dec. 16 and 17, 1874.*

dulge in lasciviousness and to recreate themselves as their propensities and appetites should dictate. Those who composed this association were my neighbors; some of them were my school-mates. I knew them well, both before and after they became members. I marked their conduct and saw and knew their ends. Their number was about twenty men and some females. I can give the names and the particulars of these individuals. For the sake of the living I will introduce the initials of their names only, except a few.

Joshua Miller was a teacher of infidelity, and was shot off a stolen horse by Colonel J. Woodhull. N. Miller, his brother, was shot off a log while he was playing at cards on first day morning, by Zebed June, on a scouting party for robbers. Benjamin Kelley was shot off his horse for the murder of one Clarke, by a boy, the son of the murdered man; he lay above ground until the crows picked his bones. J. Smith committed suicide by stabbing himself while he was imprisoned for crime. W. Smith was shot by B. Thorpe and others for robbery. S. T. betrayed his own confidential friend for five dollars; his friend was hung and himself afterward was shot by D. Lancaster; said to be an accident; I heard the report of the gun and saw the blood. J. A. was shot by Michael Coleman for robbing Abimel Young, in the very act. J. V. was shot by a company of militia. J. D. in one of his drunken fits laid out and was chilled to death.*

A similar fate befell the others. These facts, the author says, are supported by the affidavits of responsible men.

Atheism in Yale College and Other Institutions.

On the election of Rev. Timothy Dwight, D.D., to the presidency of Yale College, in 1795, he found atheistical clubs existing there, and infidelity in its most radical forms prevailed among the students. It was a time of great laxity of moral and religious sentiment. Young men were fascinated with radical notions of mental as well as political independence, and were much inclined to shake off what they regarded as the shackles of superstition. "The degree to which it prevailed may be judged from the following fact: A considerable portion of the class which he (Dr. Dwight) first taught had assumed the names of the English and French infidels and were more familiarly known by them than by their own."† It required all the tact and eloquence of that able man to suppress this great evil. But under his administration it was nearly rooted out. Several revivals of religion, one of which has often been referred to on account of its power and extent, were among the effectual means of this result.

Mr. Thomas Cooper came to this country in 1797 and figured as a naturalist, a lawyer and a politician. A friend of Priestley, an

* *Practical Infidelity Portrayed.* By Abner Cunningham. 12mo. New York, D. Coolidge; Boston, J. Loring; Philadelphia, N. Kite. 1836. Pp. 42–46.

† *Introduction to Dwight's Theology.* Vol. I, p. 20.

early member of the democratic clubs of England, then of the affiliated Jacobin clubs and a Girondist, under Mr. Jefferson he rose to favor, and was for many years Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy in Dickinson College, Pennsylvania. Subsequently he held high positions in the University of Pennsylvania, and finally in Columbia College, South Carolina. In all these situations, by sophistical reasonings, sneers and sarcasm, he trained many youthful minds in unbelief.

Paine's *Age of Reason* was introduced here about the close of the century, and had an extensive circulation. Great was the activity of European infidels in disseminating their sentiments in our country. In the year 1800, Hon. John Adams, then President of the United States, received a letter from Germany proposing to introduce into this country "a company of school-masters, painters, poets, etc., all of them disciples of Thomas Paine." His reply was characteristic of the man:

> I had rather countenance the introduction of Ariel and Caliban with a troupe of spirits the most mischievous from the fairy land.*

So threatening were the dangers which then menaced the country through the secret politico-infidel clubs organized in affiliation with those of France that President Adams referred to them in terms of warning in a public proclamation. The facts are set forth in the *Memoir of Thomas Jefferson*, to which reference has already been made.

Illuminism had been systematically embraced by various bodies of men who associated for its propagation. President Adams, in a proclamation in which he briefly disclosed the dangers that threatened the country, had said: "The most precious interests of the United States are still held in jeopardy by the hostile designs and insidious arts of a foreign nation (France), as well as by the dissemination among them of those principles subversive of the foundation of all religious, moral and social obligations, that have produced incalculable mischiefs and misery in other countries." The violent assaults which were made upon this passage of the proclamation proved the truth and accuracy of the sentiment. Enraged at this public disclosure of their plans the whole faction attacked it.

The objects of these societies were to destroy Christianity and to revolutionize government and society generally. The belief in a God, the immortality of the soul, moral obligation, civil and domestic government, the right of property, marriage, chastity and decency were objects of their hatred and conspiracy, as they had been in France. Wherever they prevailed the most gross and brutish manners and shameless immorality followed.

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* *Life and Works of John Adams.* Vol. IX, p. 73.

Jacobinism in America.

The Jacobin Club of Paris was established at a time when the French Revolution had prostrated all legitimate government, and invested the mob, under the name of "the sovereign people," with the fullest prerogatives, even of plunder and violence. Among its members and leaders were Robespierre, Danton, Marat, Collot-d'Herbois, and Santerre, supported by more than two thousand affiliated clubs in France, and a host of ferocious demagogues. M. Genet, the minister of this Jacobin government to the United States, landed at Charleston, S. C., April 8, 1793. England, then at war with France, had secured Russia, Austria, Spain and Sardinia as allies. The United States were professedly neutral, although the sympathies of a large portion of the people were with France, and it was only with extreme difficulty that Washington could restrain them from violating the rules of neutrality. Extensive depredations upon American commerce by English vessels, under a series of official orders at variance with the rights of neutrality, increased the difficulty by aggravating the popular feeling against England. The real object of Genet's mission was to involve the United States in a war with England, and thus effect a diversion in favor of France. For this purpose immediately on his arrival he commenced to distribute naval and military commissions, and performed many other offensive acts.

So great was the popular sympathy with the French Revolution that at his reception in Philadelphia "the dinner-table was decorated with the 'Tree of Liberty,' and a red cap called the 'Cap of Liberty' was placed upon the head of M. Genet, and from his passed in succession from head to head around the table."* Those who readily adopted the badges of the Jacobins were ready for further steps. Immediately a club was organized in Philadelphia with a constitution *à la mode de Paris*, which sent out an invitation for the formation of similar clubs elsewhere. The response was general, and they soon existed in every direction. Their object was to thwart the endeavors of Washington to maintain a neutral attitude, to force the nation into an alliance with France, and bring on a war with England.

Great pains were also taken to incorporate French follies and extravagances into American manners. The addresses *Mr.* and *Mrs.* were held to be aristocratic, and *Citizen* and *Citizeness* were urged as more republican. On the Fourth of July the President of the United

* *Life of Hon. John Jay, LL.D.* By his son, Wm. Jay. Harpers, 1832. P. 302.

States was toasted in New York City as "Citizen George Washington." "It is scarcely credible to what an extent the absurdities devised and practiced by the French demagogues, to influence the passions of the mob, were adopted and applauded by multitudes of the hitherto staid and reflecting citizens of the United States." * The French revolutionists had denounced all heraldic bearings as aristocratic, and some began to fastidiously inquire whether the eagle upon the coins of our Government and elsewhere did not savor of royalty, and consequently become a scandal upon a republican government. "The Tree of Liberty" and "The Cap of Liberty" were everywhere popular.

Posterity will with difficulty believe the prostituted state to which Genet and his satellites, the democratic societies, had brought the public feeling. By a variety of those artifices which familiarize the heart to cruelty, they had inured the multitude to the contemplation of bloodshed and to habitual ferocity. At a dinner in Philadelphia, at which Governor Mifflin and his friend Dallas were present, a roasted pig was introduced as the representative of the unfortunate Louis XVI. It was the joyful celebration of the anniversary of his murder. The head, being severed from the body, was carried round to each at the table, who, after putting on the liberty cap, pronounced the word "Tyrant!" and gave the head a chop with his knife. †

In America, as well as in France, the most atrocious villainies were maintained to be patriotic acts. Robbery was held to be moral and correct justice; murder was maintained to be laudable; and those most execrable of all crimes, treason and rebellion, were dignified by the name of national justice, because Jacobinized France gave the fashion to the morals and opinions of this country, and fidelity to her, under her new rulers, was best asserted by treason to every other country. ‡

A liberty cap, decorated with French and American flags, was placed with great pomp in the Merchants' Exchange, in New York. A large concourse assembled on the occasion and united in singing patriotic songs, while a detachment of militia attended, under arms, in honor of the ceremony. A *fête* was given in Philadelphia in honor of the revolution in Holland. A great crowd assembled, an altar was erected to Liberty, and before this altar the mob chanted hymns to the goddess, took an oath to be faithful to her and never to forget the genius and the arms that had restored freedom. § The profanity and folly of this oath indicate its French origin.

Such was the infatuation that then prevailed under French influence. The intimate relations which existed between the two countries, and an indebtedness for aid rendered in our Revolutionary distresses, made Americans easy victims to their specious

* *Life of John Jay*, p. 319.

† *Memoirs of Hon. Thomas Jefferson, with a View of the Rise and Progress of French Influence and French Principles in the United States.* 1809. Vol. I. p. 132.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 133.

§ *Life of John Jay*, p. 321.

theories and frenzy. But for the fairness and integrity of Washington and the success of that wise and incorruptible statesman, Hon. John Jay, in adjusting our pending difficulties with England, the nation must have been involved in fatal complications with France, and become still more fearfully demoralized in manners.

These Jacobin clubs extended as far west as Kentucky, then in its infancy, and the seeds of infidelity were sown broadcast over that State. Their character has been thus described: "Politically they were violent and dogmatic; morally they were corrupting; and, in respect to religion, they were utterly infidel." The nomenclature of towns and counties in Kentucky still attests the French sympathies of the first settlers, and it is a very significant fact that at this period French agents were able to enlist two thousand recruits in this State to attack the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi. Transylvania University, founded by the Presbyterians, was wrested from their hands and given over to the influence of infidelity.* In 1793 Kentucky dispensed with the services of a chaplain of the Legislature—a measure significant of the influences in the ascendency in high places. Before the close of the century a considerable majority of the inhabitants of the State were reputed to be infidels, and the usual concomitants of vice and dissipation were not wanting.

Section 5.—Testimonies.

Dr. Lyman Beecher, in his *Autobiography*,† bears a striking testimony. Speaking of this period he says,

> That was the day of the infidelity of the Tom Paine school. Boys that dressed flax in the barn, as I used to, read Tom Paine and believed him. I read and fought him all the way. I never had any propensity to infidelity But most of the class before me were infidels, and called each other Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, etc., etc. They thought the faculty were afraid of free discussion. But when they handed Dr. Dwight a list of subjects for class disputation, to their surprise he selected this: "Is the Bible the word of God?" and told them to do their best. He heard all they had to say, answered them, and there was an end. He preached incessantly on the subject for six months, and all infidelity skulked and hid its head.

Chancellor Kent said:

> In my younger days there were very few professional men who were not infidels, or at least they were so far inclined to infidelity that they could not be called believers in the truth of the Bible.‡

* *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D. Vol. I, pp. 420, 421.

† Vol. I, p. 43.

‡ In a conversation with Governor Clinton, New York. Mr. Kent lived 1765–1847.

Rev. Ezra Ripley, of Concord, Mass., said:

A large portion of the learning not possessed by the clergy leaned to Deism, if it was not decidedly in its favor. Christianity and its institutions were treated with more than indifference and not seldom directly opposed. . . . I have been an eye and ear witness of the proud boasting and confident assertions of profane and blasphemous infidels and have seen the poison plentifully cast into the fountain of literature.*

Of Thomas Paine much has been written without due discrimination. He has been overestimated and overblamed. Mr. McMaster† describes him:

We doubt whether any name in our Revolutionary history, not excepting that of Benedict Arnold, is quite so odious as the name of Thomas Paine. Arnold was a traitor, Paine was an infidel. . . . . Since the day when the *Age of Reason* came forth from the press the number of infidels has increased much more rapidly than it did before that book was written. The truth is, he was one of the most remarkable men of his time. It would be a difficult matter to find anywhere another such compound of baseness and nobleness, of goodness and badness, of greatness and littleness, of so powerful a mind left unbalanced and led astray by the worst of animal passions. . . . . Of all the human kind he is the filthiest and the nastiest, and his disgusting habits grew upon him with his years. In his old age, when the frugal gifts of two States which remembered his good work had placed him beyond immediate want, he became a sight to behold. It was rare that he was sober; it was still rarer that he washed himself, and he suffered his nails to grow till, in the language of one who knew him well, they resembled the claws of birds. What gratitude was he did not know.

The French Revolution inspired the enemies of religion for a time with confident expectations of a speedy triumph. The minds of multitudes were unsettled, and there was a breaking away from the old creeds. "Wild and vague expectations were every-where entertained, especially among the young, of a new order of things about to commence, in which Christianity would be laid aside as an obsolete system."‡ It was confidently asserted by some that in two generations Christianity would altogether disappear. Such was the skepticism that prevailed at the close of the last century and the beginning of the present. The growth of Christianity in this country since these vain predictions has been the most marvelous§ ever known in any land or any age.

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* In his Half-Century Sermon, covering 1778–1828.

† *History of the People of the United States.* D. Appleton & Co. 1884. Vol. I, pp. 150, etc. See also Period II, Chapter VII, Section 1.

‡ *Religion in America.* Rev. Robert Baird, D.D. Harper & Bros. 1886.

§ See next to the last chapter in the book.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

SEC. 1. Patriotic Under Disabilities.
" 2. The Hierarchy Established.
" 3. Progress in Individual States.
SEC. 4. Religious Orders and Publications.
" 5. Indian Missions.

Section 1.—Patriotic Under Disabilities.

BEFORE the Revolution the Roman Catholic Church had no organized existence in the original thirteen United States. Scarcely any representatives of this faith existed in New England, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. Maryland had ceased to be a Roman Catholic colony, about one hundred years before the Revolution; the descendants of Lord Baltimore and his companions and nearly all the population of the colony were Protestants, when our national independence was declared. The number of families that retained the Roman Catholic faith and a part of their property was very small; and among the servants who continued faithful to that religion but few could have access to their ministers or transmit their faith to their children. The clergy were objects of persecution, were few in number, and carefully kept out of the sight of the Protestants.

It had been arranged by the pope that the English colonies in America should be under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Vicar in London. This arrangement proved disastrous, for the London official was himself exposed to so many difficulties and persecutions that he could render but little aid. Maryland had a few private Roman Catholic chapels, and Baltimore was a station privately visited once a month by a priest. Until 1776 the devotees of the papacy in Maryland were hampered by civil restrictions.

In Pennsylvania the Roman Catholics were under no legal restraints, so that this colony afforded an asylum for Roman Catholics persecuted in Maryland and elsewhere. But it was difficult for the Quakers to understand that the papal faith ought to enjoy the same

share of liberty which they exercised. Many obstructions were put in the way of erecting Roman Catholic churches, and such impediments were encouraged by the English Government. On one occasion, in the colonial era, the Philadelphians appealed to the Privy Council in England to decide whether it was expedient to allow the Roman Catholics to erect a building for religious purposes. The response was, "There is no law in the colony which authorizes you to oppose the attempt of the Catholics, but the Privy Council desires that its execution may be impeded as much as possible." Every-where else the Catholic religion was formally excluded. On account of these obstacles, prior to 1771 the Irish Catholics had settled scarcely anywhere except in Maryland and Pennsylvania. About twenty-six priests and 25,000 to 30,000 communicants, with no bishop, college or academy, represented the Catholicity of the United States and Territories in 1775.

The Continental Congress in 1774 proclaimed the broadest toleration, and in 1776 the Roman Catholics in Maryland—some of them very rich and influential—were granted civil and religious equality. The other twelve original States soon followed, though eligibility to hold political offices was not granted in many States until after the present century opened—not until 1806, in New York; 1821, in Massachusetts; 1836, in North Carolina; 1844, in New Jersey. In the States where Roman Catholics were the original proprietors of the soil, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Iowa, Arkansas, Wisconsin, New Mexico and California, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was guaranteed by solemn treaties, when they were ceded to the United States.

Roman Catholics and the Revolution.

The Roman Catholics took an active part in the war of the Revolution. One of the most distinguished laymen, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Md., was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. "Here go millions," said Benjamin Franklin, as Mr. Carroll signed the paper. The first "sea fight" of the Revolution, in Machias Bay, Maine, May 11, 1775, resulting in the capture of two British store-ships, was fought under Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, an ardent Roman Catholic. Commodore Barry, a pious Roman Catholic, has been styled the "Father of the American Navy." Several Roman Catholics were members of General Washington's "Life Guard." Colonel Moylan, prominent in many battles of the Revolution, was a Roman Catholic. Roman Catholic France supplied

the cause of the Revolution with soldiers and money. Roman Catholic Spain threw open her ports as neutral to the American marine, and contributed aid to the struggling Republic. Bishop England said,* "More than half the regular troops furnished by Pennsylvania during the war of the Revolution were Irish Catholics."

After the "Act of Toleration," adopted by Maryland in 1776, the Roman Catholics began to erect churches in the towns and cities; but, like other denominations in that period, growth was retarded by the distracting events of the Revolution. Nothing was done in the other colonies until after the peace of 1783. The proclamation of peace was a signal for a general emigration from Europe to America. Among the new comers were large numbers of Roman Catholics. Ireland sent over a considerable number, with a half dozen priests, who settled chiefly in the cities. In 1784 the papal nuncio at Rome wrote to Rev. Father Carroll at Baltimore, inquiring what number of missionaries were needed to serve the interests of the Church in America. Mr. Carroll, in his reply, represented the Roman Catholic population as follows: Maryland, 16,000; Pennsylvania, 7,000; other States, 3,000; total, 26,000. Besides these other Roman Catholic authorities have estimated their population in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and the Mississippi valley at 4,000, Indian converts not included. But this Church had reached a point of very rapid growth, chiefly by immigration. By 1800 they numbered about 100,000.

Section 2.—The Hierarchy Established in the United States.

We have noticed that previous to the Revolution the Roman Catholics in America depended, in spiritual matters, on the Vicar Apostolic residing in London. Peace being restored and independence gained, this relation could no longer be maintained. It was deemed desirable to give dignity and stability to the Roman Catholic religion by the establishment of the hierarchy in the United States. The clergy, therefore, in 1784, petitioned the pope to provide for their necessities. His holiness applauded their zeal, complied with their request, and appointed Rev. Dr. John Carroll, S.J., "Superior of the missions in the United States." In 1789 he was appointed and consecrated Bishop.

* Letter to the Lyons Propaganda in 1836.

The First Roman Catholic Bishop in the United States.

Bishop Carroll was a native of Maryland, a son of Daniel Carroll, a stanch Irish Roman Catholic, "who had preferred the confiscation of his property to the renunciation of his faith." When thirteen years of age, this son was sent to Europe to be educated. He became a novitiate and in due time took the full vows of the Society of the Jesuits. After spending more than twenty years in Europe, he returned June 6, 1774,* and identified himself with the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Maryland. In 1776, by request, he accompanied the American embassy, consisting of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and his own brother, Charles Carroll, to seek the active assistance of the Canadians in the Revolution. His religious influence and ecclesiastical relations, it was supposed, would be helpful; but the mission was not successful. Throughout the great struggle he sympathized with the colonies, and is said to have cherished great respect for General Washington. By the unanimous resolution of Congress he was elected to pronounce the eulogy upon General Washington, Feb. 22, 1800, a master-piece of eloquence, patriotism and classic taste.

Immediately upon his accession to the episcopacy Bishop Carroll undertook four enterprises for the development and the extension of the Roman Catholic Church in this country—the education of youth, the formation of a national clergy, the erection of churches and the foundation of female communities to care for the sick and orphans. The preliminary steps toward the erection of a college at Georgetown were taken by him in 1789, the "ex-Jesuits" having appropriated a part of the society's property for that purpose. This religious Order, as has been before noticed, had existed in the Maryland Colony from its foundation, but Jesuits, after 1773, were under the ecclesiastical ban of the pope. "They kept up a sort of union among themselves, in Maryland and Pennsylvania, after the suppression of their Order, for the purpose of more effectually conducting the Maryland mission and of managing their temporalities, of which they were not despoiled in America as they had been in Europe."† Being too few to perform the functions both of missionary priests and teachers, they called to their aid priests of other

* At this time there was not a single public place of Roman Catholic worship in Maryland. Old St. Peter's, at Baltimore, had been closed before its completion and so remained several years. The chapels on the Jesuit farms and a few private chapels or oratories were the only places of worship possessed by the Catholics of the province. The number of Catholic clergymen in Maryland at that time was nineteen, all ex-Jesuits. There were also three in Pennsylvania, ex-Jesuits also. For names and localities see *Lives of Deceased Catholic Bishops*, Vol. I, p. 39.

† *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States.* Vol. I, p. 123.

orders, among whom were Rev. Louis Dubourg, subsequently Bishop of New Orleans, and Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, two distinguished Sulpicians. But before the restoration of the Jesuits, in 1814, this Order had exclusive direction of this college. The institution was opened in 1790, just two years before Washington was selected for the national capital. In 1791 the Theological Seminary of St. Sulpice, and soon after St. Mary's University, were founded near Baltimore, by members of the Sulpician Order who fled from France to escape the terrors of the French Revolution.

Exiled French Clergy.

The reign of terror drove to this country a large number of Roman Catholic clergy, many of whom were eminent for learning. Between 1791–1799 twenty-three French priests sought our shores. With their aid Bishop Carroll furnished his rising educational institutions with competent instructors, multiplied missions and extended the circle of the Church into New England, the South and the West. The most celebrated of these exiled French Catholic priests were Abbé John Dubois, who landed in 1791 and subsequently became Bishop of New York; the Abbés Benedict Flaget, John B. David, Stephen Badin, Francis Matignon, Ambrose Maréchal, Gabriel Richard and Francis Ciquard, all of whom came in 1792. In the year 1794 Abbé Louis Dubourg and Abbés John Moranville, Donatian Oliver, and Rivet arrived. In 1796 came Abbé Fournier, a missionary in Kentucky, and Abbé John Lefevre Cheverus, afterward Bishop of Boston. In 1798 Abbé Anthony Salmon joined his friend, Fournier, in the wilderness of Kentucky.

"The Catholic Church in the United States," says a Roman Catholic writer,* "is deeply indebted to the zeal of the exiled French clergy. No portion of the American Church owes more to them than that of Kentucky. They supplied our infant missions with most of our earliest and most zealous laborers, and they likewise gave to us our first bishops. There is something in the elasticity and buoyancy of the French character which adapts them in a peculiar manner to foreign missions. They have always been the best missionaries among the North American Indians; they can mold their character to suit every circumstance and emergency; they can be at home and cheerful every-where."

The foundation of the Georgetown College (opened in 1790) and

* *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky.* By Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D. Louisville. 1845. P. 56.

the Sulpician Seminary at Baltimore gave character and stability to Mr. Carroll's diocese, and in November, 1791, he called his priests together and held the

First Roman Catholic Synod in America.

Twenty ecclesiastics were present. At this meeting it was resolved to ask his holiness for a division of the United States into several dioceses, or at least the appointment of a coadjutor who should share with Bishop Carroll the burdens of the episcopate. Pius VI. acceded to the last request, and Father Leonard Neale was appointed coadjutor in 1800. Mr. Neale was born in Maryland, in 1746, and was a descendant of one of the first colonists under Lord Baltimore. He was educated in Europe, at St. Omers, Bruges, and also at Liége, where he was ordained a priest, in the Society of the Jesuits, a short time before the issuance of the famous bull of Pope Clement XIV, suppressing the Order. Fulfilling a mission in South America, he came to Maryland in 1783. After serving the Church in Philadelphia, and as president of Georgetown College, in 1800 he was appointed coadjutor of Bishop Carroll, *cum jure successionis*.

A large accession to the Roman Catholic Church in the United States was realized in 1793 by French Catholic refugees from St. Domingo. The French population of the island is estimated to have been 40,000, most of whom emigrated to escape massacre, and many of the mulattoes followed them. A very large portion of them came to the United States. In a single day, July 9, 1793, fifty-three vessels bearing refugees came to Baltimore. These accessions largely augmented the wealth and the Roman Catholic populations of New York city, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston and New Orleans.

Section 3.—Progress in the Several States.

New York.

The stringent laws enacted in the colonial era against the Roman Catholic priests have been duly noticed. In consequence of these severe enactments but few Roman Catholics could be found in that province down to the time of the Revolution. When the new Government arose, independent of the English crown, the minds of the people were strongly averse to Romanism, and the prejudices already existing were strengthened by the protection extended by the English Government to the Roman Cath-

olics in Canada, by the celebrated "Quebec Act" of 1774. On the assumption of power by the Provincial Congress the Roman Catholics remained fettered. Bonds so tightly riveted could not be easily sundered. Even during the severe struggles of the Revolution, when the colonists largely predicated their hope of success upon the co-operation of Roman Catholic France, and when Lafayette was leading our troops and Kosciusko and DeKalb were training our crude soldiery, the New York Convention of 1777 did not modify the restrictions against Roman Catholics. Hon. John Jay moved that persons seeking naturalization should be required "to abjure and renounce all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, priest, potentate and state, in matters ecclesiastical and civil." The restriction, though adopted, became inoperative through the action of Congress, which assumed the control of naturalization, and with this attempt all legislation opposed to the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion ceased.

After the evacuation of New York city by the British in 1783, such Roman Catholics as were in the city assembled for the public celebration of the offices of religion. In 1784 the Legislature repealed the law of 1700 in regard to "popish priests and Jesuits." Rev. Father Farmer, S.J.,* who came on occasionally from Philadelphia, was the first officiating priest, using for religious purposes such large rooms as could be obtained, sometimes a loft over a carpenter shop near Barclay Street, sometimes the parlor of the Spanish Consul. An Irish Capuchin, Rev. Charles Whelan, succeeded Father Farmer and became the first settled priest. His flock in 1785 numbered about 200 persons. In 1785 an act of incorporation of St. Peter's Church was obtained from the Legislature, and early in 1786 five lots were purchased from the trustees of Trinity Church, at the corner of Barclay and Church Streets. The Spanish Ambassador, Don Diego de Gardoqui, laid the corner stone, and its chief benefactor was Charles III., King of Spain, who contributed $10,000† toward the erection of the edifice. Father Nugent assisted a short time in the care of the church. In 1787 Rev. William O'Brien, a Dominican, was appointed to the charge of St. Peter's. Soon after, he visited Mexico for the purpose of collecting funds to finish and adorn the church. The Archbishop of Mexico, a former fellow-student of Father O'Brien, received him kindly and aided his collections so that $4,900 were raised, besides $1,000 from Puebla de los Angeles.

* Father Farmer came to this country in 1752 and died in 1786.

† There is some question about this amount.

New England.

The early settlers in this section brought with them the strong prejudices of their times, and took every possible precaution against the intrusion of papal emigrants. Their measures were so effectual that but few entered New England until after the Revolution. None came as voluntary emigrants, but some poor Irish were sold there as slaves,* and others, at a later period, came as redemptioners. These unfortunates, occasionally visiting French settlements as sailors or servants, sought the religious services of Roman Catholic priests. On the devastation of Acadia, in 1756, some of the deported inhabitants were landed in utter destitution on some points of the New England coast. Reduced from a state of competence, they disdained to become menials, and claimed, though without much avail, the rights of prisoners of war. The law prevented Roman Catholic priests from entering the colonies; and, thus deprived of their favorite religious ordinances, they were called "Neutrals," and were spoken of as "still ignorant, bigoted Catholics, broken-spirited, poor," etc. Many of them died leaving their children amid Protestant influences; others returned to Nova Scotia, others reached Canada, and others went to Louisiana, France, or the West Indies.

A few Roman Catholics are supposed to have gathered in Boston, and others were scattered in the interior, but, under penal laws, and deprived of religious instruction, their children grew up Protestants. Among these was General Sullivan, a hero of the Revolution. But with the Revolution changes came. When General Washington appeared in the camp at Boston, at the opening of the war, he found preparations on foot for burning the pope in effigy, and issued an order forbidding the "ridiculous and childish custom." He expressed surprise "that there should be officers and soldiers in his army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture, at a time when we are soliciting, and have already obtained the friendship and alliance† of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren embarked in the same cause—the defense of the liberty of America. At this juncture and under such circumstances to be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused."

About this time Washington sent a message to the Roman Catholic Indians in Maine, inviting them to join the cause of freedom.

* See section on Indentured Servitude, in the Colonial Era, page 220.

† The alliance for which the colonists were then laboring was not obtained, though they were then hopeful of securing it.

Delegates of those tribes, led by Ambrose Var, came and conferred with the Massachusetts Council and promised to aid in the struggle, stipulating one request: "We want a black gown or French priest. Jesus we pray to, and we will not hear any prayer * that comes from Old England." The terms were accepted by the very body that had ever before bitterly pursued the Roman Catholic priesthood. The Indians joined the American cause sincerely—the St. Johns, the Passamaquoddies, the Abenakis, and the Penobscots; Orono, a chief of the latter tribe, bearing a commission, which he honored by his virtues and his bravery.

The alliance of the Americans with France brought Roman Catholic fleets and armies across the Atlantic. Count D'Estiang entered Boston harbor in 1778, tarrying there three months, and the Roman Catholic services performed for the fleet were witnessed by many Bostonians. A funeral procession of an officer, with a crucifix at its head, traversed the streets of the city. Such were some of the modifications wrought by the circumstances of the times.

After the close of the Revolution a few Roman Catholics were found in Boston—some French and Spaniards, and about thirty Irish. A chaplain of the French navy, Claude Florent Bouchard de la Poterie, settled among them. He was soon followed by Rev. Louis Roussellet. The next was Rev. John Thayer, a native of Boston and a descendant of an old New England family, educated for the Congregational ministry, who, during his travels in Europe, renounced Protestantism and adopted the Roman Catholic faith. After a period of study at the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, he was duly ordained to the Roman Catholic priesthood and assigned to the care of the Church in Boston, where he arrived January 4, 1790.

The chapel on School Street, first erected by French Protestants, was formally consecrated for Roman Catholic worship in 1788. Here they remained about fifteen years, until the Cathedral on Franklin Street was consecrated, in 1803.

Of the four eminent Roman Catholic clergy exiled from France on account of the Revolution, who came to this country in 1792, two were sent by Bishop Carroll to New England—Rev. Francis Mattignon, D.D., to Boston, and Rev. Francis Ciquard, to Maine. After the arrival of Dr. Mattignon, Father Thayer extended the scope of his labors to more remote points, continuing in New England until 1799. In 1796 Rev. John Louis de Cheverus, another French clergyman, came to Boston. He visited the scattered Catholics in Salem,

* Namely, religion.

Newburyport, Portsmouth, Damariscotta, Bristol, Waldoboro, Plymouth, etc.

South Carolina.

In 1786 the mass was first celebrated in Charleston by an Italian priest, a chaplain on a ship bound for South America. It occurred in the house of an Irish Catholic, and twelve persons were present. A little later Father O'Reilly, an Irish priest, began to exercise his ministry among them, and in 1789 the erection of a church was commenced. In 1793 Rev. Dr. O'Gallagher, a native of Dublin, a man of superior intellect and eloquence, was sent to Charleston by Bishop Carroll, and cared for the flock. Papal refugees from St. Domingo and emigrants from Maryland soon swelled the number, and they were enabled to erect a very creditable church edifice.

Kentucky.

The first Roman Catholics known to have settled in this State were Dr. Hart and Wm. Coomes, the former a devoted Irish Catholic and the other a native of Maryland. "They both came," says Archbishop Spaulding,* "in the spring of 1775, among the very first white people who came to Kentucky." In 1785 about twenty Roman Catholic families emigrated from Maryland to Kentucky, which number was steadily augmented by new arrivals. Rev. Mr. Whalen, an Irish Franciscan, took charge of the Kentucky mission, traveling by a wild and dangerous path to the scene of his arduous duties, and reaching his destination in the spring of 1787. After two and a half years of excessive labor his failing health compelled him to leave, and Rev. Father Badin followed in 1793, traveling on foot from Baltimore to Pittsburg, descending the river on a flat-boat to Mayville, and thence on foot to Lexington. Here a church was erected, "a temporary hut covered with clapboards, and unprovided with glass in the windows. A slab of wood, roughly hewed, served for an altar. Such was the first Catholic church in Kentucky."

Louisiana.

In 1793 New Orleans, then under the Spanish dominion, was made an episcopal see, and Rev. Don Luis Penalver y Cardenaz, D.D., a distinguished Spanish divine, was appointed the first bishop, but did not take possession until 1795, and remained only until 1802, when he was elevated to the archbishopric of Guatemala.

*Sketches of Early Kentucky Missions.

Indiana.

In 1792 Father Joseph Flaget, a refugee from the troubles in France, arrived in Baltimore, and was appointed by Bishop Carroll to the distant mission of Vincennes. After a slow journey by wagon to Pittsburg he was detained there six months by the low waters of the Ohio, and late in December reached Vincennes. He found both church and people in an unhappy condition. Though originally settled by Roman Catholics, Vincennes had been so long without priest or sacraments that their religion was nearly extinguished. After two years of very trying labor he returned to Maryland.

Section 4.—Religious Orders and Publications.

In 1790, at the solicitation of Bishop Carroll, four Carmelite nuns came from Antwerp and founded a convent of their Order near Port Tobacco, Md. In 1792 the Order of the Sisters of St. Clare, or Visitation Nuns, established a convent in Georgetown, D. C. In 1790 the Order of St. Augustine was established in Philadelphia. In the same year the Sulpicians founded a seminary near Baltimore. The Jesuits have been elsewhere mentioned.

Before the Revolution a few Roman Catholic books were printed in Philadelphia, such as the *Garden of the Soul*, *Following of Christ*, etc., and some Catholic books were kept on sale near old St. Joseph's. In 1784 "C. Talbot, late of Dublin, printer and bookseller," issued in Philadelphia an edition of *Reeves's History of the Bible*. He appears to have been the first Roman Catholic publisher in the United States. In 1789 another publisher issued Roman Catholic books—Mr. T. Lloyd. Matthew Carey published a quarto Roman Catholic Bible in 1790, and for twenty years published a large number of prayer-books, catechisms, and controversial and devotional works.

Section 5.—Indian Missions.

The Illinois and the Lake missions among the Indians had considerably declined before the country was ceded to Great Britain in 1763.

In 1660, Menard began to convert the Kiskakons, and undertook to minister to the fugitive Hurons. His successors established missions among the Chippewas and Nez Percés, on Lake Superior; the Ottawas, both Kiskakon and Sinagos, in their various posts, among the Pottawotamies, Winnebagoes and Menominees, on

Green Bay; and among the Sacs and Foxes, Mascoutens, Kickapoos, and some families of the Miamis in the interior of Wisconsin. All these tribes still exist,* except the Mascoutens, merged probably into the Sacs and Foxes. All were to some extent converted to Catholicity before that sad period for the French missions when Choiseul directed the destinies of France. For thirty years there was no priest west of Detroit, and the Catholic Indians, thus left to themselves, when not well-grounded by time in Christianity, or removed from pagan influence, lost much of their fervor and even of their faith.

So complete was the failure of these Jesuit Indian missions, as related by Mr. J. G. Shea.† He adds:

> Not only have the narratives of the missionaries perished, but also the philological works ‡ which they composed; and at this day there is no trace of any grammar, vocabulary, catechism, or prayer-book in any of the dialects of Wisconsin and Michigan.

Small bands of Indians retired west of the Mississippi, some of which are now under Roman Catholic influences. But frequent intermarriages took place between French officers and soldiers and the Indians, out of which many of the older French families in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Missouri sprang. Among these the Roman Catholic religion was retained, and they constituted the nucleus of the earliest Roman Catholic churches in those States. Michigan was settled by Roman Catholics from France and Canada, not far from 1680, and the papal religion was the only religion known in that region until about the close of the war of 1812. Of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri almost the same statement may be made. The first settlements were papal, and the nuclei of Roman Catholic churches now existing in those States were in existence long before the Protestant churches entered them. The Roman Catholic population in Ohio and the Upper Mississippi valley in 1785, which is earlier than the date of the first Protestant Church in those regions, has been estimated by a Catholic writer at 4,000. § Louisiana and Florida were wholly Roman Catholic until after the opening of the present century. There are no evidences of missionary efforts under the Spanish rule. In 1793 the Papal Church in Louisiana was deemed to be of sufficient importance to call for the establishment of an episcopal see in New Orleans.

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* J. G. Shea, writing more than thirty years ago.

† *History of the Catholic Missions in the Indian Tribes of the United States*, pp. 379, 380.

‡ These were very few and of a meager character.

§ De Courcey's *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 54.

CHAPTER VI.

MORALS.

SEC. 1. *Post bellum* Irritations.
" 2. Political Insubordination and Bitterness.
" 3. The Family, Dueling, etc.
SEC. 4. The Social and Physical Condition, Penal Inflictions, etc.
" 5. Intemperance.
" 6. Survey of the Dark Period.

Section 1.—Post bellum Irritations, etc.

THE Revolution at last accomplished, and the foreign evils which it threw off being no longer felt, but forgotten, new troubles arose, the remedies for which could not be easily devised. The people began to grumble, became sullen and hard to please. No longer united by external danger, old animosities and new jealousies broke forth and the Union seemed likely to be dissolved. British debts had been confiscated in some colonies; British creditors were making common cause with refugees and other enemies of independence, and the treaty stipulations in regard to the Tories were not satisfactory. There were three parties; the smallest the Tories, who hoped for forgiveness and the advantages of place and power, the largest and most influential the violent Whigs, who would drive every loyalist from the States; then there were other Whigs, less extreme, who recommended leniency. Between the two branches of the Whigs an active discussion went on, the loyalists saying little. A multitude of sermons were preached and pamphlets published. "Letters to Refugees," "Last Advice to the Refugees" and "Considerations for the Refugees" crowded upon the editors of the newspapers.

The editor of a New England paper exhorted his readers "never to make friends with those fiends, the refugees." "As Hannibal," said he, "swore never to be at peace with the Romans, so let every Whig swear by his abhorrence of slavery, by liberty and religion, by the shades of departed friends who have fallen in battle, by the ghosts of those of our brethren who have been destroyed on board

of the prison-ships and in loathsome dungeons, never to be at peace with those fiends, the refugees, whose thefts, murders and treasons have filled the cup of woe." At Worcester, Mass., and Stamford, Conn., the Tories were forbidden to return. Harsh laws, passed while the war was still raging, were in many of the States re-enacted or suffered to remain on the statute-books; but in New York the most severe acts were necessary to satisfy the angry multitude. Tories and Englishmen were scarcely safe. Summary vengeance was sometimes inflicted. Offensive names which the newspapers refused to publish were proclaimed by the watchman—"Past ten o'clock, and ——— is a vile hypocrite and an enemy of freedom." In South Carolina refugees coming to recover their abandoned plantations were slaughtered. The people of Charleston vowed that no Tory should find an asylum in their city.

Wretched, indeed, was the condition into which Congress fell. "Rudely formed amid the agonies of the Revolution," the Confederation had never been revised and perfected. Each of the States retained its sovereignty and asserted this right against the general Government, toward which they acted as though dealing with a foreign foe. The general Congress degenerated into a debating club of an inferior order. Neglected by its own members, discarded by mutinous troops, reviled by the press, its acts possessed no influence. Driven by the jibes and taunts of a band of drunken plowmen it entered upon a career of uncertain wanderings. First, it goes to Princeton, where, under the guns of fifteen hundred regulars, it passes its resolutions in Nassau Hall. Thence it adjourns successively to Annapolis, to Trenton and to New York, mercilessly ridiculed at every step by the press. We cannot here follow further these unhappy events, but must sketch more widely.

Moral deterioration is a concomitant and a consequence of war. About one half of the thirty years extending from 1753 to 1783 were occupied by the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars, and other Indian wars followed. The moral effect was what might be easily conceived. The withdrawal of so many men of all ages from the quiet and conservative pursuits of industry to military life, away from the restraints of the Sabbath and the sanctuary, and in intimate association with unprincipled and skeptical men of foreign lands, engendered, in many minds hitherto virtuous, laxity, unrest and moral recklessness. The twenty years following the Revolution was a time of the lowest general morality in American history, fully attested by the biographies and newspapers of that period and the records of ecclesiastical bodies. In the churches there was much complaint of gen-

eral lukewarmness and grievous apostasies. Many were the lamentations and warnings of good men, though faintly heard by the public ear, and exerting but little influence to arouse the people to religious activity. Primitive morality passed away and Sabbath-breaking, profanity and other gross vices abounded. The faithful ministers of the Presbyterian Church deeply deplored the moral condition of the country. At the session of the Synod of Philadelphia and New York, in 1778, the Report on the State of the Church emphasized "the lamentable decay of vital piety" and "the gross immoralities," "increasing to an awful degree." The next year they mention the "great and increasing decay of vital piety, the degeneracy of manners, the want of public spirit, and the prevalence of vice and immorality throughout the land."*

Section 2.—Political Insubordination and Bitterness.

A general sentiment of insubordination growing out of the political revolutions of the civilized world seized young and old, and developed high notions of freedom, personal independence and a strong tendency to resist authority. "Infidel philosphers found ready listeners when they represented the restraints of religion as fetters upon the conscience, and moral obligations as shackles imposed by bigotry and priestcraft."†

> Resistance to authority, which for the purpose of revolution had been prescribed as a remedy, had now become habitual from constant application. That which was at first nauseous, and reluctantly taken as a medicine, had now become pleasing to their palates, and, like their daily food, seemed necessary, almost, to their existence. The wholesome jealousy of power which had hitherto been so salutary now degenerated into a distemper, and the great object of it, the British Government, being removed, another was necessary to supply it with the means of existence. For the very purpose of revolution a spirit had been raised in the country which it was easy to foresee would with great difficulty, if at all, be laid, or confined within proper bounds. Every individual had for years been encouraged and accustomed to vaunt about his rights, and even to think any sort of government an imposition. The very lessons taught them . . . were to be brought forth in domestic scuffle against their leaders; and demagogues of a subordinate class were thickly scattered through the country to influence the tempers and poison the opinions of the masses of the people even against the shadow of government.‡

In consequence of these things, a spirit of misrule and injustice, accompanied by a general relaxation of moral principle, discontent,

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* *Minutes of the Synod of* 1778, 1779.

† *Annals of Yale College.* By Hon. Ebenezer Baldwin. New Haven, 1831. P. 145.

‡ *Memoirs of Thomas Jefferson*, 1809. Vol. I, p. 17.

heart-burnings and complaints, prevailed. Licentiousness of sentiment and of conduct followed directly in the footsteps of liberty, the offspring of the profane alliance into which she had been drawn with French infidelity. Desecration of the Sabbath, neglect of the sanctuary, profanity and disrespect of the Bible, shown in low cavils, were common in not a few of even the New England towns, in which the last vestiges of Puritan morals seemed to have been irrecoverably effaced.

This corruption extended into civil and literary circles. The newspapers of those days partook of the general demoralization. Mr. Jefferson referred to it in decided terms in 1807. He said: "Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this state of misapprehension is known only to those who are in a situation to confront facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day," etc. These lines were written in an era of bad feeling between the Republicans and the Federalists of the old school—a period of bitterness which has had no parallel in any of the partisan strifes of our days.

But the state of feeling referred to in the preceding paragraph had existed much longer than some may suppose. It sprang up soon after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The Jacobin intrigue inflamed it still more. It was the bane of Washington's second term and of the administration of Adams also.

Washington Assailed.

With the exalted views of Washington which now prevail it is difficult to conceive to what an extent he was then assailed and maligned. This great and good man was attacked with great asperity; his conduct was reprobated by the press, and in public and private addresses; he was even accused of "desiring to join the coalesced despots of Europe in their crusade against liberty." People were warned against making Washington "an idol who might become dangerous to liberty." One libeler applied to him the epithets, "Faithless, unprincipled and aristocratic moderatist, who would offer up the liberties of thy fellow-citizens on the altar of administration, and the sacred obligations of our country, though perhaps not thine, on the altar of treachery and dishonor!" The *Aurora** charged upon him that he was "the source of all the misfortunes of our country," and said that the name of Washington

* Article on the Abdication of Washington.

"gave a currency to political iniquity and legalized corruption." The notorious Thomas Paine bitterly assailed Washington in a private letter, from which we take the following extract:

"And as to you, sir, treacherous in private friendship, and a hypocrite in public life, the world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an apostate or an impostor; whether you have abandoned good principles, or whether you ever had any."

These extracts show the temper of the times, the bitter animosities and severe party strifes of the last ten years of the last century. Washington deeply felt this personal abuse, and referred to it in a letter to Mr. Jefferson in 1796. He said: "I have been accused of being the enemy of America and subject to the influence of a foreign country; and, to prove that, every act of my administration is tortured and the grossest and most insidious misrepresentations of them made by giving one side only of a subject, and that, too, in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, or a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket."

It was a dark period in our national history. Early in 1796 an intimate acquaintance of Washington, a gentleman of the highest character, said, in a letter addressed to his great friend:

Our affairs seem to lead to some crisis, some revolution; something that I cannot foresee or conjecture. I am more uneasy than during the war. Then we had a fixed object; and though the means and time of obtaining it were problematical, yet I did firmly believe that we should ultimately succeed, because I did firmly believe that justice was with us. The case is now altered; we are going and doing wrong; and therefore I look forward to evils and calamities. There doubtless is much reason to think and to say that we are woefully and, in some instances, wickedly misled. Private rage for property suppresses public considerations, and personal rather than national interests have become the great objects of attention.

In answer to the foregoing letter, Washington, among other things, said:

Your sentiments that we are drawing rapidly to a crisis accord with mine. What the event will be is beyond my foresight.*

Section 3.—The Family, Dueling, etc.

The demoralization consequent upon the spread of French ideas extended also to the family relation. As in France, so in America, in those days there was a weakening of matrimonial ties; the legitimate harvest of deistical and atheistical sentiments. A gentle-

* *Memoirs of Hon. Thomas Jefferson*, before quoted. Vol. I, pp. 66, 67.

man writing a little later, at the beginning of the present century, said:

> I once cut out of all the newspapers we received the advertisements of all the runaway wives, and pasted them on a slip of paper, close under each other. At the end of a month the slip reached from the ceiling to the floor of the room, more than ten feet high, and contained more than one hundred and twenty-three advertisements. We did not receive, at most, more than one twentieth part of the newspapers of the United States.

Dueling was another glaring evil of those times. It had become a great national sin. With the exception of a small section of the Union, the whole land was deeply stained with blood. From the northern lakes to the Gulf of Mexico were heard the cries of lamentation from widows and the fatherless. This flagrant crime was often committed by men high in office—the appointed guardians of life and liberty. Challenges passed within the halls of Congress, and a duelist* was nominated and by a large majority elected to the Vice-Presidency of the United States. We had become a nation of murderers by tolerating and honoring the perpetrators of the crime.

Many of the safeguards of our day did not then exist. Letters and packages were opened and read by the mail-carriers. For a long time after the Revolution, men who transacted important business corresponded in cipher. Some cities were famous for routs and riots, luxury and display; but the routs were generally over before nine o'clock in the evening. Theaters were proscribed and, in Massachusetts, held in abhorrence, and the stringent laws against them in earlier times were re-enacted in 1784. In New York and Philadelphia also they were discarded, and plays were pronounced immoral. But in Baltimore, which had obtained "a high reputation for jollity," they were allowed, and in some other places. Balls, routs and dancing assemblies, alternating with theaters, were the favorite amusements of the Baltimoreans. Lewd songs and coarse jokes were not uncommon. But a large part of the community kept aloof from such spectacles. About 1784–85 a long discussion sprang up in many cities in regard to theaters, which continued several years. It was not until the close of Washington's first administration that a company of players showed themselves in Boston.

In the autumn of 1792, under various pretenses, several performances were allowed in Boston. Finally, "it was announced that 'Douglas and the Poor Soldier,' a moral lecture, in five parts, would be presented. But Hancock was Governor, and not a man to be de-

* Aaron Burr.

ceived by a name or to tolerate so bold an invasion of the law. One night in December, therefore, while the company was playing the moral lecture of 'School for Scandal,' and the play had gone as far as the end of the second act, the sheriff suddenly rushed upon the stage and carried off Sir Peter to the jail. The house in a fit of fury denounced the Governor, damned liberty, and pulled down and trampled under foot a painting of the Governor's Arms that hung before the stage box. The next number of the *Centinel* was full of cards. One expressed the thanks of Harper, the arrested comedian, for the sympathy manifested by the audience on the evening of his arrest. A second informed the public that, at the request of the selectmen, the performance would be discontinued for a while. A third, it was pretended, came from the tavern-keepers, and stated, amid a profusion of thanks, that since the theater had been stopped the tap-rooms had been crowded, that the tapsters no longer slept over the empty pots, and that the cry of 'Coming, sirs; coming, sirs,' was nightly heard on every side." *

The plays were soon resumed, and a year later the first theater was erected in Boston.

Section 4.—The Physical and Social Condition, Penal Institutions, etc.

There can be no doubt, says Mr. McMasters,† that a wonderful amelioration has taken place since that day in the condition of the poor. Their houses were meaner, their food was coarser, their clothing was of commoner stuff, their wages were, despite the depreciation that has gone on in the value of money, lower by one half than at present. A man who performed what would now be called unskilled labor, who sawed wood, who dug ditches, who mended the roads, who mixed mortar, who carried boards to the carpenter and bricks to the mason, or helped to cut hay in the harvest time, usually received, as the fruit of his daily toil, two shillings. Sometimes, when the laborers were few, he was paid more, and became the envy of his fellows if at the end of a week he took home to his family fifteen shillings, a sum now greatly exceeded by four dollars. Yet all authorities agree that in 1784 the hire of workmen was twice as great as in 1774.

On such a pittance it was only by the strictest economy that a mechanic kept his children from starvation and himself from jail. In the low and dingy rooms which he called his home were wanting many articles of adornment and of use now to be found in the dwellings of the poorest of his class. Sand sprinkled on the floor did duty as a carpet; there was no glass on his table; there was no china in his cupboard; there were no prints on his wall. What a stove was he did not know; coal he had never seen; matches he had never heard of. Over a fire of fragments of boxes and barrels, which he lit with the sparks struck from a flint, or

* *History of the People of the United States.* By McMasters. Vol. I, pp. 94, 95.
† *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 96.

with live coals brought from a neighbor's hearth, his wife cooked up a rude meal and served it in pewter dishes. He rarely tasted fresh meat as often as once in a week, and paid for it a much higher price than his posterity. Every thing, indeed, which ranked as a staple of life was very costly. Corn stood at three shillings the bushel, wheat at eight and sixpence; an assize of bread was fourpence; a pound of salt pork was tenpence. Many other commodities now to be seen on the tables of the poor were either quite unknown or far beyond the reach of his scanty means. . . .

If the food of an artisan would now be thought coarse his clothes would be thought abominable. A pair of yellow buckskin or leathern breeches, a checked shirt, a red flannel jacket, a rusty felt hat cocked up at the corners, shoes of neat's skin set off with huge bucklers of brass, and a leather apron comprised his scanty wardrobe. The leather he smeared with grease to keep it soft and flexible. His sons followed in his footsteps, or were apprenticed to neighboring tradesmen. His daughter went out to service. She performed, indeed, all the duties at present exacted from women of her class; but with them were coupled many others rendered useless by the great improvement that has since taken place in the conveniences of life. She mended the clothes, she did up the ruffs, she ran on errands from one end of the town to the other, she milked the cows, made the butter, walked ten blocks for a pail of water, spun flax for family linen, and, when the year was up, received ten pounds for her wages. . . .

But there is one other change which has, it must be admitted, done far more to increase the physical comforts of the poorest class than better food, higher wages, finer clothes—men are no longer

Imprisoned for Debt.

No crime known to the law brought so many to the jails and prisons as the crime of debt; and the class most likely to get into debt was the most defenseless and dependent, the great body of servants, of artisans, and of laborers—those, in short, who depended on their daily wages for their daily bread. One hundred years ago the laborer who fell from a scaffold, or lay sick of a fever, was sure to be seized by the sheriff the moment he recovered, and be carried to jail for the bill of a few dollars which had been run up during his illness at the huckster's or the tavern.

There is, indeed, scarce a scrap of information bearing upon the subject extant which does not go to prove beyond question that the generation which witnessed the Revolution was less merciful and tender-hearted than the generation which witnessed the civil war.

Brutality.

Our ancestors, it is true, put up a just cry of horror at the brutal treatment of their captive countrymen in the prison-ships and hulks. So great and bitter was their indignation that money was to be stamped with representations of the atrocities of which they complained, that their descendants to the remotest generation might hold in remembrance the cruelty of the British and the sufferings of the patriots. Yet even then the face of the land was dotted with prisons where deeds of cruelty were done in comparison with which the foulest acts committed in the hulks sink to a contemptible insignificance.

For more than fifty years after the peace there was in Connecticut an underground prison which surpassed in horrors the Black Hole of Calcutta. This den,

known as Newgate Prison, was in an old worked-out copper-mine in the hills near Granby. The only entrance to it was by the means of a ladder down a shaft, which led to the caverns under ground. There, in little pens of wood, from thirty to one hundred culprits were immured, their feet made fast to iron bars and their necks chained to beams in the roof. The darkness was intense; the caves reeked with filth; vermin abounded; water trickled from the roof and oozed from the sides of the caverns; huge masses of earth were perpetually falling off. In the dampness and the filth the clothing of the prisoners grew moldy and rotted away and their limbs became stiff with rheumatism. The Newgate Prison was perhaps the worst in the country, yet in every county were jails such as would now be thought unfit places of habitation for the vilest and most loathsome of beasts. At Northampton the cells were scarce four feet high, and filled with noxious gases of the privy vaults, through which they were supposed to be ventilated. Light came in from two chinks in the walls. At the Worcester prison were a number of like cells, four feet high by eleven long, without a window or a chimney or even a hole in the wall. Not a ray of light ever penetrated them. In other jails in Massachusetts the cells were so small that the prisoners were lodged in hammocks swung one over the other. In Philadelphia the keeps were eighteen feet by twenty feet, and so crowded that at night each prisoner had a space six feet by two to lie down in.

Into such pits and dungeons all classes of offenders of both sexes were indiscriminately thrust. It is therefore not at all surprising that they became seminaries of every conceivable form of vice and centers of most disgusting diseases. Prostitutes plied their calling openly in the presence of men and women of decent station and guilty of no crime but an inability to pay their debts. Men confined as witnesses were compelled to mingle with the forger, besmeared with the filth of the pillory, and the fornicator streaming with blood from the whipping-post, while here and there among the throng were culprits whose ears had just been cropped or whose arms, fresh from the branding iron, emitted the stench of scorched flesh.

The Entire System of Punishment.

was such as cannot be contemplated without mingled feelings of pity and disgust. Offenses to which a more merciful generation has attached no higher penalty than imprisonment and fine stood upon the statute-books as capital crimes.

Modes of punishment long since driven from the prisons with execrations as worthy of an African kraal were looked upon by society with a profound indifference. The tread-mill was always going. The pillory and the stocks were never empty. The shears, the branding-iron, and the lash were never idle for a day. In Philadelphia the wheel-barrow men still went about the streets in gangs, or appeared with huge clogs and chains hung to their necks. In Delaware, which to this hour treats her citizens with the degrading scenes of the whipping-post, twenty crimes were punished with a loss of life. Burglary and rape, sodomy and witchcraft, were among them. In Massachusetts ten crimes were declared by the General Court to be punishable with death.

There the man who, in a fit of anger or in a fit of drunkenness, was heard cursing and swearing, or spreading evil reports of his neighbor, was first set in the stocks and then carried off to the whipping-post and soundly flogged. If, however, he was so unfortunate as to be caught in the arms of a prostitute he was suffered to escape with a fine. In Rhode Island a perpetual mark of shame was

for many offenses judged to be a most fitting punishment. There a counterfeiter was punished with a loss of a piece of his ear, and distinguished from all other criminals by a large C deeply branded on his forehead. A wretch so hardened as to be recommitted was branded on the arm. Keepers knew no other mode of silencing the ravings of a madman than tying him up by the thumbs and flogging him till he was too exhausted to utter a groan.

The misery of the unfortunate creatures cooped up in the cells, even of the most humanely kept prisons, surpassed in horror any thing ever recorded in fiction. No attendance was provided for the sick, no clothes were distributed to the naked. Such a thing as a bed was rarely seen, and this soon became so foul with insects that the owner dispensed with it gladly. Many of the inmates of the prisons passed years without so much as washing themselves. Their hair grew long, their bodies were covered with scabs and lice and emitted a horrible stench. Their clothing rotted from their backs and exposed their bodies tormented with all manner of skin diseases and a yellow flesh cracking open with filth. The death rate often stood as high as sixty in the thousand. As if such tortures were not hard enough to bear, others were added by the half-maddened prisoners.

"Garnishing."

No sooner did a new-comer enter the door of a cell than a rush was made for him by the inmates, who stripped him of his clothing and let him stand stark naked till it was redeemed by what, in the peculiar jargon of the place, was known as drink-money.

It sometimes happened that the prisoners were in possession of a carefully preserved blanket. Then this ceremony called garnishing was passed over for the yet more brutal one of blanketing. In spite of prayers and entreaties the miserable stranger was bound, thrown into the blanket and tossed till he was half dead and ready to give his tormentors every superfluous garment to sell for money. With the tolls thus exacted liquor was bought, a fiendish revel was held, and when bad rum and bad tobacco had done their work, the few sober inmates of the cell witnessed such scenes as would be thought shocking in the dance-houses which cluster along the wharves of our great seaboard towns.

To a generation which has beheld great reforms in the statutes of criminal law and in the discipline of prisons and jails, to a generation which knows but two crimes worthy of death—that against the life of the individual and that against the life of the State—which has expended fabulous sums in the erection of reformatories, asylums and penitentiaries, houses of correction, houses of refuge and houses of detention all over the land; which has furnished every State prison with a library, with a hospital, with workshops and with schools, the brutal scenes on which our ancestors looked with indifference seem scarcely a reality. Yet it is well to recall them, for we cannot but turn from the contemplation of so much misery and so much suffering with a deep sense of thankfulness that our lot has fallen in a pitiful age, in an age when more compassion is felt for a galled horse or a dog run over at a street crossing than our great grandfathers felt for a woman beaten for cursing or a man imprisoned for debt.*

But there was one great evil which stood out more prominently than others, requiring a more extended notice.

* *History of the People of the United States.* By McMasters. Vol. I, pp. 96-102.

Section 5.—Intemperance.

The first Continental Congress, in 1774,* uttered a decided manifesto against the evil of intemperance in these words:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several legislatures immediately to pass laws the more effectually to put a stop to the pernicious practice of distilling, by which the most extensive evils are likely to be derived if not quickly prevented.

But this action was soon forgotten by the Government itself during the war of the Revolution, and supplies of distilled liquors were voted by Congress for the army under the fatal delusion that they were necessary in the hardships and dangers to which the soldiers were exposed in that severe struggle. In consequence of this action a diseased appetite was not only fostered where it already existed, but was also awakened in many who had not hitherto experienced its insatiable longings.

During the war the commerce of the colonies was cut off and with it the supply of foreign beer and wines, and hence almost all the liquor which was then used was distilled spirits—the most fiery and vitiating of all the beverages ever presented to the lips of man; and this was soon in demand for almost every purpose of cure or sustenance. The absence of the foreign supply, and a more extensively vitiated appetite, increased the demand and gave a great impulse to the business of distillation. In the course of three years the consumption of grain became so great that it was feared that a famine would ensue in the army. In 1779 the army began to suffer, and the State of Pennsylvania enacted a law preventing the distillation of all kinds of grain or meal, except rye and barley. But the check was only temporary.

As might have been expected, there was a great increase of this terrible evil after the close of the Revolution. The soldiers, on being discharged, carried out into the communities the appetites which they had formed, and many others, long inclined to the moderate use of the milder articles from which they had been cut off, had become addicted to those of the most powerful and deteriorating character. Hence we find that during the forty years after the close of the war intemperance attained its greatest proportions, and it was often referred to in those days by European travelers as "the most striking characteristic of the American people." The statistics of 1792 and 1810 afford abundant confirmation of these statements. In 1792 there were 2,579 distilleries in the United States. In 1810

*For a sketch of intemperance in the colonial era, see pp. 212-214, *Liquor Problem in all Ages*. By Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D.D. Phillips & Hunt. New York City.

they numbered 14,191, being an increase nearly sixfold, while the population had increased less than twofold. During the year ending September 30, 1792, there had been of foreign distilled spirits imported (exports deducted, leaving the quantity actually consumed) 4,567,160 gallons; wines (exports deducted), 1,267,723 gallons; distilled in the United States, 5,171,564 gallons. Total consumed in this country, 11,008,447 gallons. But the population of the country at that time was 4,173,024, which would be an average of two and one half gallons for every man, woman and child, including slaves, who, however, were not allowed to use liquors.

Section 6.—General Survey of the Dark Period.

During the last decade of the last century many good men became seriously concerned in view of the low condition of piety and morals which almost every-where prevailed. A few testimonies from some of these men will assist in reproducing a distinct view of the situation. Rev. Devereux Jarratt, a distinguished Episcopal clergyman of Virginia, writing in 1794, said:

> The present time is marked by peculiar traits of impiety and such an almost universal inattention to the concerns of religion that very few will attend, except on Sunday, to hear the word of the Lord.* . . . The state of religion is gloomy and distressing; the Church of Christ seems to be sunk very low.† . . . Little regard and reverence is paid to magistrates and persons in public office ‡ on account of the prevalence of the spirit of the French Revolution.

The state of morals in the new Territories was especially bad. Rev. Peter Cartwright in his *Autobiography* bears testimony to the condition of a portion of Kentucky.

> Logan County, when my father moved into it (1793), was called "Rogue's Harbor." Here many refugees from almost all parts of the Union fled to escape punishment or justice; for, although there was law, yet it could not be executed, and it was a desperate state of society. Murderers, horse-thieves, highway robbers, and counterfeiters fled there, until they combined and actually formed a majority. Those who favored a better state of morals were called "Regulators." But they encountered fierce opposition from the "Rogues," and a battle was fought with guns, pistols, dirks, knives, and clubs, in which the "Regulators" were defeated.

Gallipolis, Ohio, was originally settled by French infidels, and as late as 1815, although it was the "county seat and a flourishing town," yet it was without a minister of the Gospel. Cleveland,

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* *Life of Rev. Devereux Jarratt.* Written by himself. Baltimore, Warren & Hanna, 1805. P. 5. † *Ibid.*, p. 129. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Ohio, was settled in 1799. In 1803 Rev. Joseph Badger visited this place and said of it:

> Infidelity and profaning the Sabbath are general. They bid fair to grow into a hardened corrupt society.*

Western New York, like many other new localities, was settled by bold and enterprising men, speculators in land, and men whose misfortunes or vices or roving disposition inclined them to disregard the more staid habits and associations of older communities, and to cast off the obligations of religion and good morals. It was then a common saying that "Religion had not got west of the Genesee River." Some of the towns were hot-beds of infidelity, and the books of Paine, Voltaire, etc., were largely circulated. A writer in those days describing the condition of the new regions, said: "In most of the communities there was no other vestige of the Christian religion than a faint observance of Sunday, and that merely as a day of rest for the aged and a play-day for the young." In the older communities many of the pulpits were filled by a formal and worldly ministry, or by men who had fled from the ecclesiastical censures of the lands across the ocean, and the Church was generally conformed to the gay society around it.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1798, in its pastoral letter, indulged in language of alarm and expostulation:

> Formidable innovations and convulsions in Europe threaten destruction to morals and religion; scenes of devastation and bloodshed unexampled in the history of modern nations have convulsed the world, and our country is threatened with similar calamities. We perceive with pain and fearful apprehension a general dereliction of religious principle and practice among our fellow-citizens, a visible and prevailing impiety and contempt for the laws and the institutions of religion, and an abounding infidelity which, in many instances, tends to atheism itself. The profligacy and corruption of the public morals have advanced with a progress proportioned to our declension in religion. Profaneness, pride, luxury, injustice, intemperance, lewdness, and every species of debauchery and loose indulgence greatly abound.

Solemn exhortations to the churches followed, to be read from all the pulpits, and a day of fasting and prayer was appointed. In some Presbyteries the first Tuesday of every quarter throughout each year was observed for this purpose, from 1796 to the close of the century. On the first Friday in March in 1796, the Methodist Episcopal Church† observed a general day of fasting and prayer for the same reasons as those here given. The means of resistance against these evils were then comparatively small. There were

* *Memoirs*, p. 46.

† See Bangs's *History of Methodism*. Vol. II, p. 22.

large tracts of the country in which the people were either not supplied with churches at all or the supply was very scanty: There were also but few religious books, and no tracts, for tract societies had not then been organized, and the age of Bible societies had not dawned. During all the colonial history no English Bible was permitted to be published in the land, and the people were entirely dependent on the mother country. Bibles were therefore very expensive and scarce. After the troubles arose with the mother country it became difficult to obtain a supply of the Holy Scriptures. It has been estimated that at the time of the Revolution there were not more than four million Bibles in the whole world. Since the organization of Bible societies hundreds of millions have been printed and scattered abroad. In 1777 the American Congress directed the Committee on Commerce to import, at their expense, twenty thousand English Bibles from Holland, Scotland, or elsewhere, into the different States of the Union. In 1781 Congress recommended an edition of the Bible which had then been just published by Robert Aiken, of Philadelphia, the first edition of the Holy Scriptures ever printed in America. These things occurred before the influence of French infidelity had become so general. So meager were the means of resistance against the great evils which were flooding the nation.

Our country was peculiarly adapted to be the battle-ground of a great impending religious conflict. Here was no State Church, nor could the civil arm be stretched out to defend or sustain Christianity. The right of free discussion was secured by law to belief and unbelief alike. Nor was the battle to be fought for America only, but for mankind, for we were destined to be a great cosmopolitan people, a mediatorial nation among the nations of the earth.

Under such disadvantages did Christianity commence the work of the present century in the United States, and with such high responsibilities. The question to be decided was, Shall this American nation be Christian or infidel? A question which could not be decided by an appeal to arms, but by the working of silent and subtle convictions pervading the realm of ideas, and relying on spiritual influences and agencies alone.

CHAPTER VII.

REFORMS INITIATED.

SEC. 1. Early Temperance Seed-Sowing. | SEC. 2. Early Antislavery Seed-Sowing.

Section 1.—Early Temperance Seed-Sowing.

LIKE all other reforms from a low condition of general demoralization penetrating the entire framework of society, the reverse movement was very small, feeble and inconstant in its beginning. A long succession of temperance men can be traced down through the ages to our times, who have withstood the prevailing drinking usages, by which vast multitudes have been borne down to ruin. Even during the dark and troublous period of the last quarter of the last century, the first seed-sowing of reform may be traced, chiefly in scattered individual movements, from which ample harvests have since been reaped.

The efforts of the Hon. John Adams to restrain the sale and use of intoxicating drinks in his native town, near the close of the colonial era, have been frequently noticed. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was a man of strict temperance habits. While employed as a journeyman printer in London he often protested against the drinking usages of his fellow printers, and, in after life, amid the allurements of more exalted stations, maintained his strict temperance principles. The Society of Friends from their origin, in a very corrupt and dissolute age, were noted for the inculcation, both by precept and example, of the strictest doctrine of temperance, and scrupulously instilled those ideas into the minds of their children. The Yearly Meeting of the Friends in New England,* in 1784, incorporated into the discipline a special clause respecting the use of ardent spirits, which was regarded as permanently binding on all their members. Rev. John Wesley at the beginning of his ministry was convinced that intemperance was a great foe to true religious prog-

**American Quarterly Temperance Magazine.* Albany, Nov., 1833, pp. 367, 368.

ress, and not only preached against it, but also insisted upon the most rigid temperance among his ministers and people. A rule which he prescribed for his societies excluded "*drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, except in cases of extreme necessity.*" The early Methodists in this country were not less decided than Mr. Wesley in their opposition to the drinking usages of that period. At the Conferences held in 1780 and 1783 decided action was taken. In the latter year they inquired:

Shall our friends be permitted to make spirituous liquors, sell and drink them in drams? *Answer.* By no means; we think it wrong in its nature and consequences, and desire all our preachers to teach the people, by precept and example, to put away this evil.

In 1784 the first Conference was held, by which the Methodist Episcopal Church was formally organized. This body adopted the foregoing rule of Mr. Wesley, and made it obligatory upon every member of the Church. Revs. Dr. Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, the first Bishops of the Church, in their *Notes on the Discipline*, alluding to this rule, said:

Far be it from us to wish or endeavor to intrude upon the proper religious or civil liberty of any of our people. But the retailing of spirituous liquors and giving drams to customers when they call at the stores are such prevalent customs at present, and are productive of so many evils, that we judge it our indispensable duty to form a regulation against them. The cause of God, which we prefer to every other consideration under heaven, requires us to step forth with humble boldness in this respect.

Thus it will be seen that the founders of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America deserve to be regarded as among the first and most decided movers in this great reform. It is also a well-known fact that the house of Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, was the constant home of the early Methodist itinerants, toward whom he was strongly inclined. Asbury and Coke visited him often, and doubtless in their conversations contributed something to prepare him for the active part he performed in this great reform. It is a just tribute to the memory of a great and good man, a man of superior scientific attainments, of patient, philosophic research, of rare progressive spirit, a zealous reformer and a devout Christian, to say that this great movement is indebted for its origin to

Dr. Benjamin Rush,

of Philadelphia. Other men had inculcated temperance, both by precept and example, and thus stood as lights in dark ages,

but Dr. Rush resolutely undertook, by extensive efforts, long persevered in, amid the arduous duties of his profession, to withstand this great and desolating evil, both through the press and by personal influence with the leading men of his time. And it will be seen as we proceed that to his efforts the earliest permanent temperance organizations may be directly traced. His antecedents indicate that he was a fit man for such a work. As early as 1774, when a member of the provisional assembly of Pennsylvania, he moved the first resolutions in favor of our national independence, and on the 23d of June, 1776, when a member of the Continental Congress, he was appointed the chairman of the Committee on Independence. Such a spirit was not to be appalled in view of the antiquity and magnitude of this terrible scourge.

As early as 1785 Dr. Rush published his celebrated essay on *The Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Mind and Body*. It attracted considerable attention and exerted a manifest influence for good; so that, according to Hildreth,* at the celebration of the adoption of the Federal Constitution in Philadelphia, July 4, 1788, ardent spirits were excluded from the entertainment, American beer and cider being the only liquors used. Nor was this all. He made earnest and repeated efforts with the leading official ministers and ecclesiastical bodies of that day to influence them to proper action on this subject; and we find him corresponding with the elder Adams and Dr. Jeremy Belknap, of New Hampshire, on this subject. In his first letter, dated May 6, 1788, he says:

> The commerce in African slaves has breathed its last in Pennsylvania. . . . I am encouraged by the success that has finally attended the exertions of the friends of universal freedom and justice to go on in my romantic schemes (as they have often here been called) of serving my countrymen. My next object shall be the extirpation of the abuse of spirituous liquors. For this purpose I have every year for several years past republished the inclosed tract two or three weeks before harvest. The effects of this perseverance begin already to show themselves in our State. A family or township is hit with this publication one year that neglected or perhaps ridiculed it the year before. Associations are forming in many places to give no spirits at the ensuing harvest. The Quakers and Methodists take the lead in these associations, as they have often done in all enterprises that have morality or the happiness of society for their object.†

The following extract from another original autograph letter from Dr. Rush to Dr. Belknap, dated July 13, 1789, in the possession of the New England Historical Society, will show in his own

* Vol. IV, p. 69.

† Original autograph letter in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass. Copied by consent of the Society. See *Belknap Papers*. Vol. I, p. 138.

words the depth of interest in this subject, and also present some other interesting facts.

I have borne a testimony (by particular desire) at a Methodist Conference against the use of ardent spirits, and I hope with effect. I have likewise written to the Roman Catholic Bishop in Maryland to set an association on foot against them in his society. I have repeatedly insisted upon a public testimony being published against them by the Presbyterian Synod of this city and have suggested to our good Bishop White the necessity of the Episcopal Church not standing neutral in this interesting business. Go thou, my friend, and, in your circle of influence or acquaintance, "Do likewise." *

The First Temperance Association

in this country was formed in the early part of the year 1789, in the town of Litchfield, Conn. In the *Federal Herald*, † July 13, 1789, it is recorded that—

Upward of two hundred of the most respectable farmers in Litchfield County, Conn., have formed an association to encourage the disuse of spirituous liquors, and have determined not to use any kind of distilled spirits in doing their farming work the ensuing season.

Whether this association had a constitution and by-laws does not now appear, but they had a temperance PLEDGE, thus recognizing a principle which has long been the *key-stone* of the temperance reformation. The original copy of this pledge was found in 1833 by Hon. Seth P. Beers, while administering upon the estate of Mr. Ephraim Kirby, of Litchfield, the first signer.‡ After a long preamble setting forth the grounds of their action stands the following pledge:

We do hereby associate and mutually agree that hereafter we will carry on our business without the use of distilled spirits as an article of refreshment, either for ourselves or for those whom we employ; and that, instead thereof, we will serve our workmen with wholesome food and the common simple drinks of our production. Signed by Ephraim Kirby, Timothy Skinner, David Buel, and nearly two hundred others.

Forty-four years afterward, ten of the original number were still living in Litchfield, and one of them, Mr. David Buel, was residing in Troy, N. Y., at the advanced age of ninety years, a zealous advocate of temperance. This was the first voluntary association of individuals pledged to abstain from strong drink ever formed in this country. To the unfading glory of the farmers of Litchfield County let it ever be told. They were the first to originate and

* For fuller information in regard to Dr. Rush see *Liquor Problem in all Ages.* By Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D.D. Phillips & Hunt. New York City.

† Vol. III, No. 74. Published in Lansingburg, N. Y.

‡ See *Litchfield Enquirer*, Sept. 26, 1833.

introduce into practice the principle of *a social covenant* to promote the disuse of ardent spirits.

In the next period this reform will unfold itself through successive stages of progress into a great and mighty moral revolution.

Section 2.—Early Antislavery Seed-Sowing.

Societies for the abolition of slavery are not of recent origin. A considerable number of them sprang up in the latter part of the last century. The Pennsylvania Abolition Society, the first ever formed, was organized before the Revolution. In 1784 it was resuscitated. The New York Abolition Scociety was formed in January, 1785, the Rhode Island Society, in 1789; the Connecticut Society, in 1790; the New Jersey Society, in 1792; and other societies were organized in Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. National abolition conventions were held in 1794, in 1795, in 1804, and subsequently.

These early abolition societies embraced in their membership some of the purest philanthropists, the ripest scholars, most eminent jurists, and the best statesmen of that age. They were deeply imbued with the spirit of liberty and were loyal to the precepts of Christianity. Ever zealous, earnest, and devoted, they labored effectively in the cause of emancipation and the general elevation of the African race. For several years national conventions, in which these societies were represented, were annually held. Earnest arguments and appeals were made by these conventions to Congress, to the State legislatures, to the free people of color, and to the country, to aid in the suppression of the slave-trade, the repeal of inhuman statutes, the protection of free persons of color, and the promotion of the general interests of freedom.*

Among the prominent civilians engaged in these movements were the following: John Baldwin, Benjamin Franklin, Anthony Benezet, and Benjamin Rush, in Pennsylvania; John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, in New York; Judge Baldwin, in Connecticut; Levi Lincoln, Caleb Strong, and Theodore Sedgwick, in Massachusetts, and George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, in Virginia. The more enlightened statesmen and philanthropists of that period regarded slavery as "an atrocious debasement of human nature," † and desired to find some plan by which it might be abolished by law. This was especially true of the best portion of the cultivated Christian mind of that day. They saw the essential injustice and enormity of slavery, and the duty of its removal, as clearly as they ever have since that time.

* *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power.* By Hon. Henry Willson. Boston. 1872. James R. Osgood & Co. Vol. I, p. 29.

† Benjamin Franklin.

But there was a powerful class in the Carolinas and in Georgia that actively and persistently resisted every thing that tended to the destruction of a system which secured to them wealth, social distinction, and political power. There were also "the uneducated and unreflecting masses," taking counsel of their feelings of indolence and avarice, and of those induced, in the language of Jefferson, "by the quiet, monotonous course of colonial life, largely influenced and led, too, by the dominant class, who had little sympathy with these abstract ideas of right, justice and humanity, and little disposition to legislate in harmony with them." These two classes hindered and prevented all legislative enactments in the Southern States which tended either to the modification or the abolition of slavery, and succeeded in obtaining a recognition of slavery and guarantees for its protection in the Constitution of the United States.

In the more northern States different results were secured. During the Revolution public opinion in Massachusetts was so strong in favor of the abolition of slavery that in many of the towns votes were passed in the town meetings that they would have no slaves among them. The present Constitution, adopted in 1780, declares that "all men are born free and equal." "This," says Chief Justice Parsons, a member of the committee which reported it, "was inserted not merely as a moral and political truth, but with a particular view to establish the liberation of the negroes on a general principle, and was so understood by the people at large," who adopted the Constitution by a two thirds vote. "It would be difficult," said Chief Justice Shaw, "to select words more precisely adapted to the abolition of slavery." But even before this action slavery was virtually abolished by public opinion. Nor is there evidence that the blacks were sold and sent south. In 1783 a great deal of public indignation was expressed at the conduct of Dr. A——, who decoyed three blacks on board of his vessel and took them to the West Indies for sale. Governor Hancock sent to all the West India Islands, and the men were promptly returned to Boston.*

In 1780 Pennsylvania passed "an act of gradual abolition." Rhode Island took early action, providing that all born of African descent, after March, 1784, should be free. Connecticut, with not quite three thousand slaves at the time, as early as 1784 provided

* The fullest account extant of slavery in Massachusetts was written by Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, in response to inquiries by Judge Tucker, of Virginia, and published in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*. Vol. IV.

for the gradual emancipation of slavery. The same year New Hampshire became a free State by a judicial interpretation of her Constitution. The Legislature of New York in 1785 refused to adopt a system of gradual emancipation. After persistent appeals, however, in 1799, it enacted that all children born thereafter were free.

The Religious Origin of the Antislavery Movement.

The opinion sometimes expressed, that the antislavery movement was in its origin a purely humanitarian reform, is the result of hasty thought. Some have been accustomed to consider Franklin, Jefferson, Jay, Rush, etc., as philanthropists under whose labors the early abolition societies and emancipation acts in the Northern States were inaugurated, and forget that the prime impulse was Christian, and that Christian men, including many eminent divines, acted a conspicuous and the leading part in the programme. Such men constituted not only some of the best leaders but also the rank and file, while the religious sentiment furnished the chief pabulum and inspiration of the reform. It started directly out of the religious convictions of the people, and was dependent for its success upon the religious public. This aspect of the case has been so constantly overlooked by writers and speakers on antislavery themes that it is necessary to dwell upon it here and unfold the action of the religious bodies. By referring to pp. 225-228, the earliest seed-sowing of antislavery will be seen, under which public opinion was so far developed at the time of the Revolution that the abolition of slavery followed in many States immediately after that event.

By the faithful and self-denying labors of devoted pioneers and early advocates of antislavery, and others of less note, covering a period of a hundred years, was the Society of Friends at length persuaded to rid itself of the system of enforced servitude. Nor was this great work accomplished without much of exciting discussion, stern rebuke and stirring appeal. For with them, as with others, the love of ease and the lust of dominion were strong, nor did they at once and easily let go their hold on the victims of their power. And not until the conscience of the Society was aroused by the unequivocal decisions of its ecclesiastical tribunals, showing slavery to be a sin to be repented of and forsaken, did it achieve the high distinction of being the first and only denomination to purge itself entirely of this great iniquity.*

The Presbyterian Church and Slavery.

The *Presbyterians* also shared a part in this early seed-sowing. As early as 1774, and again in 1780, this subject was before their

* *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power.* By Hon. Henry Wilson. Vol I, p. 10

Synod. In 1787 the Synod of New York and Philadelphia declared its approval

of the general principles in favor of universal liberty that prevail in America and of the interest which many of the States have taken in promoting the abolition of slavery; yet, inasmuch as men introduced from a servile state to a participation of all the privileges of civil society, without a proper education and without previous habits of industry, may be in some respects dangerous to the community, therefore they earnestly recommend to all the members belonging to their communion to give those persons who are at present held in servitude such good education as might prepare them for the better enjoyment of freedom. Re-affirmed in 1793 and 1795.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was not formally organized until the Conference called for that purpose in Baltimore, December 27, 1784. The following is the substance of the action of this body in regard to slavery:

1. As to the *nature* of slavery. An abomination; the deepest debasement; the slavery of America more abject than any other. 2. They considered slavery to be contrary to the golden law of love, on which hang all the law and the prophets; contrary to the inalienable rights of mankind; contrary to every principle of the Revolution. 3. Every one possessing slaves, whether by inheritance or otherwise, was required to emancipate them if it could be done; and no persons holding slaves for the future was to be admitted into the Church unless he previously promised to emancipate them. 4. These rules were to affect the members of the Church only so far as they were consistent with the laws of the States in which they resided. 5. But those who bought or sold slaves, or gave them away, were immediately to be expelled, unless they bought them in order to free them.*

"These rules," says Rev. Jesse Lee,† "were but short-lived and were offensive to most of our southern friends, and were so much opposed by many of our private members, local preachers, and some of the traveling preachers, that the execution of them was suspended at the Conference held in June following, about six months after they were formed, and they were never afterward carried into full force."

The Conference of 1796 adopted a fuller expression of its views, among which we notice a stern disapproval of slavery; security for emancipation required of official members holding them in States where emancipation was allowed; no slaveholder was to be received into the Church until the preacher had spoken to him freely and faithfully on the subject; every member who should sell a slave was to be excluded from the Society; members purchasing slaves were required to execute a legal instrument of manumission after a specified term, etc. This remained with little modification for some time.

All through these earlier years the Methodist Church maintained a positive hostility to slavery, which was felt in the high places in

* *History of the Great Secession.* By Rev. Chas. Elliott, D.D. Cincinnati, Swormsted & Poe. 1855, p. 35.

† *History of the Methodists.* 1810.

the nation. Its leading officials freely conferred with presidents and governors, and were listened to in legislative halls in behalf of the slave. In the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States Mr. Marshall, afterward Chief Justice, kept back the words *slave* and *slavery* from that instrument by urging with great emphasis that if the Government thus countenanced slavery it would lose the support of the Methodists and the Quakers.

The Congregationalists and Slavery.

Congregationalism was originally confined almost entirely to New England, and consequently has been less embarrassed by the institution of slavery than any other religious body. But in the colonial period, and for a considerable time after the Revolution, this institution existed in almost all the Northern States where this denomination prevailed. Several noble champions of antislavery arose in her ministry at an early date.

"Among the earlier apostles of emancipation was Dr. Samuel Hopkins, pastor of the Congregational church in Newport, R. I., who was as much distinguished for his advocacy of the doctrines of human rights as of the doctrines of the school of theology which bears his name. In 1770 he deliberately and solemnly resolved to attack the system of kidnapping, purchasing and retaining slaves. Although Rhode Island had, as early as 1652, passed an act against the purchase of negroes, she had become deeply involved in the slave trade. Newport was the great slave mart of New England. Cargoes of slaves were often landed near the church and home of the great divine. Before his congregation, thus deeply involved in the guilt of slave-trading and slave-holding, he boldly rebuked the sin, and pleaded the cause of these victims in a discourse of great plainness and power. It was an unselfish and heroic act, imperiling his position both as pastor and as a recognized leader in the Church. Of this noble act Whittier says, 'It may well be doubted whether on that Sabbath day the angels of God, in their wide survey of his universe, looked upon a nobler spectacle than that of the minister of Newport rising up before his slave-holding congregation and demanding, in the name of the Highest, "the deliverance of the captive and the opening of prison doors to them which were bound."'

"From 1770 to 1776 Dr. Hopkins frequently spoke in behalf of the slave, visited from house to house, and urged masters to free their bondmen. In the latter year he published his dialogue concerning slavery, together with his address to slave-holders. He

dedicated this remarkable production, said to have been 'the ablest document which had at that time and on that theme appeared in the English language,' to the Continental Congress. It had a large circulation among the statesmen of that day and exerted a potent influence on public opinion. This early champion of the black man was cheered by the passage in 1774 of a law prohibiting the importation of negroes into Rhode Island; and in 1784 by the passage of an act declaring all children born after the next March free—results to which he had largely contributed by his early, persistent and self-denying labors. His heart was gladdened, too, by the action of his church. Instructed by his teachings and inspired by his zeal, it declared slavery to be 'a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence of the Gospel,' and therefore it resolved, 'We will not tolerate it in this church.'" *

The first meeting for the formation of the Rhode Island Abolition Society was held in the house of Dr. Hopkins, at Newport. The New York Abolition Society, among its earlier acts, printed Dr. Hopkins's masterly arguments against slavery and gratuitously circulated them. The Connecticut Abolition Society had for its first officers Rev. Ezra Styles, D.D., President of Yale College, and Judge Baldwin, both eminent Congregationalists, and numbered among its members many who were eminent for piety and learning. Before this society, in 1791, Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D.D., the younger, proclaimed the radical and uncompromising declaration that, "To hold a man in a state of slavery who has a right to his liberty is to be every day guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of man-stealing, and is a greater sin in the sight of God than concubinage or fornication." Rev. Dr. Edwards performed good service on other important occasions. In the national Antislavery Convention of 1795 he was present, and acted a conspicuous part. This convention sent out addresses to South Carolina, Georgia, and the people of the United States. The address to South Carolina was written by Mr. Edwards.

Thus it will be seen that the original impulse of the antislavery movement was religious, and that all through the earlier history which has been sketched it derived its chief force and strength from religious sentiment. (See also Period II, Chap. IV, Sec. 2.)

* *The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power.* By Hon. Henry Wilson. Boston. James R. Osgood & Co. 1872. Vol. I, pp. 11, 12.

PERIOD II.

FROM 1800 TO 1850.

CHAPTER I.

NEW LIFE IN THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES—AN ERA OF REVIVALS INAUGURATED.

SEC. 1. Survey of the Period.
" 2. The Revival of 1800 Incepted.
" 3. Character of the Revival.
SEC. 4. Subsequent Revivals.
" 5. College Revivals.
" 6. Effects.

Section 1.—A Survey of the Period.

WITH the opening of the present century appeared numerous indications of an immense advance of Christ's kingdom. Formidable oppositions were still arrayed against it, but some old institutions, long standing in its way, were falling in pieces, and a few nations which had long rejected the Gospel were opening their doors to receive it. In India there was a favorable change in the administration of civil affairs. Infanticide was prohibited,* and European education and Christian chaplains, teachers and missionaries had entered. China, under the tuition of European monopolies, began to sympathize a little with European ideas, and was about to admit an installment of missionary† teachers. The Turkish Empire, successively humbled by Venice, Russia and Austria, and finally by France and England, had settled into a state of submission, and was slowly adopting the ideas, arts and education of Western Europe. Africa, also, the land of darkness and parodoxes, was conscious of new influences encircling her. In 1787 Sierra Leone, purchased as a refuge for emancipated bondsmen, became a dependency of the British crown. In 1795 the regeneration of the Cape of Good Hope commenced under English influence. From 1796 to 1800 the world became acquainted with the wonderful explorations of Bruce and Mungo Park. In 1799 Vanderkemp commenced his labors among the Kafirs and the Hottentots, and Egypt and the Barbary States were learning to stand in awe of Christian nations.

* In 1802. † Dr. Morrison went to Canton in 1807.

Europe had been shaken by the throes of the French Revolution, the power of papal intolerance was broken, and Napoleon Bonaparte was making gigantic strides across the Continent reconstructing its governments and institutions. In the East Indies the influence of Dutch supremacy was already felt, and Christian schools and usages were being established. Great Britain also showed signs of progress. In her American war she had learned useful lessons about popular liberty, and was favorably inclined to a fuller recognition of civil and religious rights.

New Christian institutions were organizing for the spread of Christ's kingdom. On the Continent of Europe the Netherlands Missionary Society was formed in 1797, the Berlin Missionary Society in 1800, and a little later Gutzlaff went to the coast of China bearing the Gospel. In Great Britain six missionary societies had been organized between 1792 and 1800; the Religious Tract Society in 1799, three Bible Societies between 1800 and 1809. Sunday-schools had sprung up in England and were being adopted in Protestant countries on the Continent.

Such is the world-wide survey of the religious situation at the opening of this century. A general survey of the period (1800–1850) now to be considered, especially in respect to the unfavorable circumstances with which the cause of religion had to contend, and also a brief view of some of the more striking peculiarities and movements of the times, will prepare us to appreciate the rare achievements of American Christianity in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Unfavorable Circumstances.

The progress of American Christianity during this period was not unattended with disadvantages. The war of 1812 and the exciting circumstances preceding and following it, covering a period of ten years, were a serious detriment to the cause of piety. The embargo and non-intercourse acts, from 1807 to 1810; the capture of more than nine hundred American vessels in ten years, and the Indian hostilities on the frontiers under British instigation, kept the country constantly excited long before the war commenced. During the war (1812–1815) frequent scenes of savage butchery by Indians and British soldiers on the northern and western borders, the capture and burning of the national capitol, the attacks upon Baltimore and New London, Conn., and the threatening attitude of the British fleet toward New York and Boston, at times inflamed the popular heart to frenzy. Then followed the wars with Algiers

and the Florida Indians. Moreover, considerable division of opinion existed among American citizens in regard to the war of 1812. Party politics ran high and domestic disputes pervaded all classes, from the halls of legislation to the fireside. In consequence of these things the work of religion in many places was sometimes either greatly embarrassed or wholly checked. After 1820 the country was free from foreign irritations, and the rapidly-extending populations were becoming established in their new centers.

The two decades from 1830 to 1850 are among the most important in the history of American Christianity. If inferior to the former three in the inauguration of new religious agencies, they were nevertheless characterized by other movements which distinctly marked them upon the pages of history. The churches were in the wake of the great religious revivals which exerted such extensive and sweeping power from 1826 to 1832. Immediately after the latter date the spiritual interest abated somewhat, and there commenced a series of great and powerful agitations. It was pre-eminently an era of agitations—ecclesiastical, reformatory, socialistic, Native-American, and that occasioned by the Mexican war.

In the year 1830 the great temperance reformation, slowly inaugurated in the preceding decades, was moving forward under a powerful influence, and soon attracted universal attention, enlisting the best minds of the nation in its behalf. It powerfully shook the whole land, penetrated every locality, kindled its fires on other shores, and became an object of world-wide inquiry and admiration. The close of this period (1850) is believed to have been the time of the best temperance habits in this country since the introduction of distilled liquors as a beverage.

The great antislavery reform started upon a bolder and wider career soon after 1830, and down to the close of the period most powerfully stirred the nation, producing strife, bitterness, divisions and mobs. The fight was a severe one, and the results were long unfavorable, producing distress and anxiety. Instances of mob violence were common in the largest cities. After 1843 the question of slavery entered largely into political action in primary assemblies, in elections and in the halls of legislation; while the churches were at no time exempt from this seriously-disturbing influence.

From 1841 to 1850 the subject of Sabbath observance was kept prominently before the attention of the country, and very great improvement in the habits of the people was every-where visible.

The internal difficulties over questions of policy and principle arising out of these reformatory agitations disturbed and rent asun-

der several of the largest religious denominations. Previous to 1830, schisms were produced by Arian and Socinian doctrines which had crept into the churches. The schisms of the next two decades were not occasioned by theological differences, if we except some alienations caused by the spread of "New Divinity" among the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, but by great questions of ecclesiastical polity or policy. The divisions which occurred in the three greatest denominations—the Presbyterians (1838), the Methodists (1844), and the Baptists (1845)—were preceded and followed by long and exciting agitations, which seriously diverted the churches from their appropriate work. The "New Divinity," the "Bushnell" and the "Tractarian" controversies also engrossed the attention of many, while the excitements connected with the Mormon movement and exodus, and the Millerite, or Second Advent agitation had a very pernicious effect.

Socialism was first introduced by Robert Owen in 1826. Later came the more widely-felt epoch of American Socialism, when Fourierism was introduced (1842) and recommended to public favor by men of superior literary culture and influence. Fourierism attracted much attention and spread like an epidemic, so that in less than ten years thirty-four socialistic communities were organized. Many persons were considerably influenced and religiously unsettled by socialistic speculations. Christianity was tested in withstanding this assault. Almost simultaneously the Native American excitement agitated the leading cities, and the common school contest was inaugurated by the Roman Catholics under the leadership of Bishop Hughes. In this period Naturalistic and Materialistic ideas were introduced in connection with the teachings of Combe and the phrenologists, and the first installments of Rationalism and Spiritualism were received.

Such were the agitations which affected the condition of the churches during this period, distracted their attention, divided their energies and embarrassed their religious action and influence. Emphatically an era of agitation, the atmosphere was full of the dust of strife and the din of tumults. The virtue and conserving power of Christianity were sorely tested; how much more her aggressive power! And yet new benevolent, evangelizing and educational agencies were organized in large numbers, and the churches greatly increased their number, strength, and efficiency. The statistics of the churches from 1800 to 1850 show a surprising increase, reduplicating upon the population, and exceeding any previous ecclesiastical growth in ancient or modern times. The growth of the

evangelical churches under such circumstances is doubtless owing to the fact that most of the great agitations were moral and religious—a legitimate part of true militant work, fulfilling the prediction, "I came not to send peace but a sword." These agitations came chiefly out of the quickened religious life of the churches, stirring the consciences of men. Christianity was both a factor and a beneficiary. Whence came the new life and its intensity?

Section 2.—The Revival of 1800 Incepted.

Having taken this survey of the period and its exigencies we turn back to the opening of the century, that we may ascertain how the American churches were prepared by God for such magnificent achievements.

Under the influence of the Wesleyan movement, and the preaching of Rowland Hill and John Newton, the churches of Great Britain were rising to a higher spiritual life, and more fully comprehending their responsibilities to the masses of their own countrymen and to the world. British Christianity had been powerfnlly quickened and new beneficent agencies were starting into being. There were indications of an immense advance all along the lines of Christ's militant host.

Were the churches of the New World to share in this onward movement? Or were they to falter and fail under the blighting influence of French infidelity and gross immorality abounding in American communities? We shall soon see how it pleased God to deliver them from their spiritual embarrassments, and how they came forward to share in the grandest advancement of His kingdom since the apostolic age.

The dark and trying period through which the country passed at the beginning of its national career has been shown to be one of such moral and spiritual desolation that many intelligent citizens were alarmed in view of the dubious religious prospects. Days of fasting and prayer were observed annually, quarterly, monthly, or weekly, varying in different localities, with earnest intercession that God would interpose in behalf of his suffering cause.

The Great Revival (1799–1803).

At this time a great revival of religion commenced, the influence of which extended into almost all portions of the country, quickening and multiplying churches, turning back the dark and desolating

floods of infidelity and immorality, and giving birth to numerous powerful religious and reforming agencies. The Bible, Tract, Educational, Foreign and Home Missionary Societies springing up in the first twenty years of this century were outgrowths from the new life infused by this revival into the American churches. The revival had its origin on the remote frontiers, in that portion of Kentucky and Tennessee lying west of the Cumberland Mountains then known as the "Cumberland Country"—a region of such rare beauty of scenery and fertility of soil that it early attracted settlers from Virginia and the Carolinas. The first token of divine favor was manifested in these new settlements, where the greatest hardships were experienced and the people of God most needed and most earnestly sought his aid. Like a wave the new religious life rose beyond the Alleghanies, and, rolling over the mountains, swept onward to the Atlantic. This frontier population was chiefly Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists. Rev. Dr. Craighead, a man of eloquence and learning, formerly from North Carolina, then stood at the head of the Presbyterian ministry in that region. The preaching at that time, in most localities, consisted principally of dry discourses upon a stiff and technical theology, or a cold, speculative orthodoxy, which led to no heart conviction nor change of life. Persons of quiet and orderly lives were admitted to the churches without a religious experience.*

Five men, three Presbyterians and two Methodists, seemed to have acted prominent parts in the forthcoming revival. Of the former were Revs. James Gready, William McGee and —— Hodge; of the latter, John McGee and William Burke. The McGees † were brothers.

Covenants were entered into by Christian people to spend the third Saturday in each month in fasting and prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and one half hour at sunset every Saturday night and at sunrise every Sunday morning in prayer for the same object. In the latter part of 1799 the two brothers McGee, one a Methodist and the other a Presbyterian, started upon a preaching tour from Tennessee into Kentucky. Their meetings on Red

* *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.* By Rev. E. B. Crisman. Nashville, Tenn. 1870. Pp. 19, 20.

Rev. David Rice (Memoirs), who went to Kentucky in 1783, said: "I scarcely found one man and but few women who supported a credible profession of religion. Some were grossly ignorant of the first principles of religion; some were given to quarreling and fighting, some to intemperance, and perhaps most of them were totally ignorant of the forms of religion in their own houses." And yet "many of them produced certificates of having been in full communion and in good standing in the churches from which they had emigrated."

† Sometimes written Magee.

River were attended with remarkable effects. At the next, on Muddy River, many distant families came with wagons and camped in the woods. This was the beginning of religious "camp-meetings"* in this country, which have since become a prominent institution. In its origin it was Presbyterian-Methodist. In June, 1800, one of these meetings was held on Gaspee River, a large number of people coming together from a radius of sixty miles, the services continuing from Friday to the following Tuesday. The exercises were attended with powerful "awakenings," children, young men and women, old gray-headed people, white and black, dissolute and moral, were deeply stirred. Other meetings followed in this region, attended by the same influences and producing similar results. Many were sacramental occasions, in which Presbyterian and Methodist ministers united in the ordinances and other services. A meeting was held in Cambridge, Ky., soon after the introduction of these peculiar gatherings, which produced a general sensation. Thousands of persons were present from many parts of the State, and even from Ohio, and it continued one week. Hundreds fell to the earth as dead men under the preaching. At another, held at Cobbin, Ky., it was extravagantly estimated that "twenty thousand persons were present," that "thousands† fell as if slain in battle;" and the "influence was felt throughout the State." Astonishing effects attended another on Desher's Creek, at which it was said that "the people fell under the power of the word like corn before a storm of wind." Rev. William McKendree, subsequently Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, then presiding elder in this region, engaged heartily in the work, and his biographer has said that "no small part of the impetus which was given to the work was by his preaching and superior wisdom."‡ Rev. William Burke, a Methodist itinerant, was also an active laborer. The work went on in Kentucky and Tennessee several years, and left behind permanent results.

Section 3.—Character of the Revival.

From deists, then numerous in Kentucky, and from formal religionists the revival encountered opposition; but it went on, and Sabbath-breakers, profane swearers, drunkards and skeptics were transformed. Congregations increased; new churches were organ-

* See *Methodist Magazine*, 1821, p. 189, for an account of these first meetings, from the pen of John McGee.

† Bangs's *History of Methodism*. Vol. II, p. 108. ‡ Fry's *Life of McKendree*, p. 68.

ized, and old ones were built up. Strange and astounding were many of the phenomena, yet deists were constrained to confess that "from whatever cause the revival might proceed it made the people better." It promoted friendly tempers where before there were numerous and fatal feuds. The religious engagedness and sincerity were so great as to disarm suspicions of hypocrisy and produce a deep conviction of divine power. Eminent divines closely scrutinized the character of the work. Rev. Samuel Ralston, D.D., of Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, was in the midst of the scenes, and declared that "the work was agreeable to the word of God and kindred to the great revival in Scotland and New England." Rev. Moses Hedge, D.D., of Virginia, in a letter to Rev. Ashbel Green, D.D., of Philadelphia, said:

> This work seems to lead to a more clear and distinct view of the operation of the Divine Spirit upon the heart of a sinner in his conversion and subsequent communications than can be obtained from ordinary revivals.

Rev. George A. Baxter, D.D., of Washington Academy, Virginia, who visited Kentucky in 1801, and personally inquired into the character of the revival, in a letter to Dr. Archibald Alexander recorded the following testimony:

> On my way I was informed by settlers on the road that the character of Kentucky travelers was entirely changed, and that they were as remarkable for sobriety as they had formerly been for dissoluteness and immorality. And indeed I found Kentucky, to appearance, the most moral place I had ever seen. A profane expression was hardly ever heard. A religious awe seemed to pervade the country. . . . Upon the whole, I think the revival in Kentucky the most extraordinary that has ever visited the Church of Christ; and, all things considered, it was peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of the country into which it came. Infidelity was triumphant and religion was on the point of expiring. Something extraordinary seemed necessary to arrest the attention of a giddy people who were ready to conclude that Christianity was a fable and futurity a delusion. This revival has done it. It has confounded infidelity and brought numbers beyond calculation under serious impressions.

Similar testimonies were given by Rev. David Rice, a leading Presbyterian minister of Kentucky, and by Rev. Messrs. Samuel Miller, D.D., Archibald Alexander, D.D., and James Welsh, a committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, appointed to investigate the character of the revival.

Such was the origin of this great revival in the South-west. But it was not confined to that region. In August, 1801, it had reached Cross Roads, Orange County, N. C.; the next year the eastern part of the State; then it spread into South Carolina, northern Georgia and Virginia, and thence northward through the Middle States.

Revivals in New England, etc.

Simultaneously with these movements the revival influences appeared in the more northern section of the country. In Connecticut it preceded the work in Kentucky and Tennessee, although it seems not to have been so extensive. Powerful revivals* were experienced in the following Connecticut towns: Somers, in 1797; Canton, 1798-9; Torringford, 1798; New Hartford, 1798-9; Torrington, 1798-9; Plymouth, Harwinton, Goshen, Farmington, Norfolk, Bristol, Burlington, Avon, Bloomfield and Middlebury, in 1799. From the year 1800 they became more numerous and extensive in western New England. Rev. Bennett Tyler, D.D., said:

> Within the period of five or six years, commencing with 1797, not less than one hundred and fifty churches in New England were visited with "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." †

Rev Ebenezer Porter, D.D.,‡ said:

> The day dawned which was to succeed a night of more than sixty years. As in the valley of Ezekiel's vision, there was a great shaking. Dry bones, animated by the breath of the Almighty, stood up new-born believers. The children of Zion beheld with overflowing souls, and with thankful hearts acknowledged "this is the finger of God." The work was stamped conspicuously with the impress of its Divine author, and its joyful effects evinced no other than the agency of Omnipotence.

Rev. Edward D. Griffin, D.D., said: §

> I could stand in my door at New Hartford, Litchfield County, Connecticut, and number fifty or sixty contiguous congregations laid down in one field of Divine wonders, and as many more in different parts of New England.

Rev. Justin Edwards, D.D., and Mr. Samuel J. Mills, both eminently successful laborers in great Christian enterprises in the first half of the present century, were converts ‖ in these revivals.

In the year 1800 a revival commenced in Palmyra, New York, and extended to Bristol, Bloomfield, Canandaigua, Richmond, Lima, and other places. In New Jersey revivals of extraordinary extent and continuance were experienced under the labors of Rev. E. D. Griffin, D.D., at Newark, in 1802; and another at Baskingridge in 1803, under the pastorate of Rev. Robert Finlay, D.D., which extended to many neighboring churches, and also into more distant and mountainous regions among the workmen in the iron mines and furnaces. Four years later these seasons were renewed.

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*See *New England Revivals.* By Rev. Bennett Tyler, D.D. Massachusetts Sabbath-school Society. Boston. 1846.

† *Ibid.* Preface, p. 5. ‡ Subsequently professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

§ *Lectures on Revivals.* By Rev. W. B. Sprague, D.D. Appendix, p. 152.

‖ *Am. Quar. Register*, 1840. Vol. I, p. 346. Also *Life of Rev. Justin Edwards, D.D.* Pp. 12, 13.

Section 4.—Subsequent Revivals.

Since the great quickening of 1800, revivals of religion, before so rare, have been of more frequent occurrence, affording some of the brightest pages in religious history. Modes of divine operation characterizing Christianity in the apostolic age have become more common, and large masses of people have been wonderfully moved and changed. It will be impossible to fully sketch these religious phases and mention all the places where these visitations have occurred, but a few data will be given which will show a marked advance upon the two previous centuries. Inasmuch as such an exhibit must necessarily be only partial, and the history of no other denomination affords such good materials prepared at hand as Rev. Dr. Gillett's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, a comprehensive statement of the revivals of the latter denomination during the first quarter of the century will be given.

Beginning with the year 1804, a marked advance in nearly all parts of the Church was mentioned. The report on the state of religion to the General Assembly of 1805 was of "a varied character;" that of 1806 speaks of the general extension and prosperity of the Church; that of 1807 speaks in language of admonition and apprehension; that of 1808 speaks of a powerful revival in Newark, New Jersey, under Dr. Griffin, and another in the Synod of Albany, but expresses "cause for sorrow and humiliation." From 1808 to 1813, a troublous period in the nation, there were few extended revivals, but a steady growth, increasing the membership of the denomination in four years twenty-five per cent. The assemblies of 1814–15 mention some special outpourings of the Spirit, but with loud warnings on account of the deleterious influence of the war, intemperance and other vices. The report of 1816 mentions great revivals in New York city, Philadelphia, Albany, Troy and other large places, and in nine presbyteries. The report in 1817 speaks of "wonders of mercy" in the Presbytery of New Jersey, in which fifteen hundred conversions were reported, of five hundred in the city of Troy, and of other revivals in seven other different presbyteries. The report of 1818 speaks of revivals in seventeen of the twenty-six congregations in the Cayuga Presbytery, of six or eight in New Jersey, and in four other presbyteries. In 1819 revivals were reported as having prevailed in northern, central and western New York; in the Grand River Presbytery, Ohio; in northern New Jersey and in eastern Tennessee. In 1820 there were reports of revivals in between seventy and eighty churches, fifteen

of which were contiguous congregations. In 1821 fourteen hundred accessions were made to the church in the Presbytery of Albany; one-thousand in the Presbytery of Hudson, while fourteen other presbyteries had also been visited and about seven thousand other accessions had been made to the churches. In 1821 mention was made of revivals in nine presbyteries, as well as throughout the Synod of Pittsburg and in numerous localities in northern and central New York. In 1823, thirty presbyteries reported revivals. Less revivals were reported in 1824; but in 1825 more than twenty presbyteries reported revivals. It has been estimated that during the period of ten years (1815-1825) not less than fifty thousand additions were made to the Presbyterian Church as the fruits of these revivals. Similar movements continued during the remainder of this period.

Such were the revivals during the first thirty years of this century in the Presbyterian Church, one of the most staid religious bodies of the land. The Methodist and Baptist churches, if their record could be fully sketched, would show still more numerous and powerful revivals and greater accessions. The additions to the churches, from 1800 to 1830, were relatively very large.

The Presbyterian Church increased from 40,000 to 173,229, or fourfold.
The Congregational Church increased from 75,000 to 140,000, or twofold.
The Baptist Church increased from 100,000 to 313,138, or threefold.
The Methodist Episcopal Church increased from 64,000 to 476,153, or sevenfold.

Nothing like such an increase had ever before been known, though it has since been paralleled and even exceeded, for the new revival era has continued to our times.

The revivals thus far mentioned occurred chiefly in the Presbyterian and Congregational churches. At the same time among the Baptists and the Methodists the movement was even more powerful. In the space of three years (1800–1803) the communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church increased from 64,890 to 104,070.*

A New Condition.

How great the contrast as compared with almost any period in the previous one hundred and fifty years, if we except the time of the Edwardian and Whitefieldian revivals, extending through little more than a single decade! Rev. Ebenezer Porter, D.D., said that until this time there had been no revival in his church† in its entire history. Many New England churches had had no

* General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 1800–1803. † Washington, Conn.

revival for twenty-five, forty, sixty and even one hundred years. Rev. Mr. Storrs, of Braintree, Mass., had a revival in his church in 1811, but could find no evidence of a previous revival in the preceding one hundred years.* Rev. Dr. Snell, of North Brookfield, Mass., said:†

From the time that Rev. G. Whitefield passed through this county to 1817, a period of about seventy-five years, there was no extensive movement of a religious nature upon the minds of the people in this place. The first revival of religion with which God ever blessed this people, so far as can be ascertained, commenced in the autumn of 1816.

Rev. E. D. Griffin, D.D., said:‡

Long before the death of Whitefield, in 1770, extensive revivals in America had ceased, and except one in Stockbridge, and some other parts of Berkshire County, Mass., about the year 1772, and one in the north quarter of Lime, Conn., about the year 1780, and one in several towns in Litchfield County, Conn., about the year 1783, I know of none which occurred afterward until the time of which I am to speak (about 1797–1803).

Rev. Ashbel Green, D.D., President of Princeton College, said:§

For the long period of forty years (1773–1813) there was nothing in Nassau Hall that had the appearance or name of a religious revival.

Rev. Luther Hart, of Connecticut, said:‖

From an examination of all the records which we have been able to command, and from a pretty extensive inquiry of the living, we cannot find more than fifteen places in New England in which there was a special work of grace during the first forty years after the "Great Revival"—that is, under Edwards and Whitefield.

Thus was the spell of worldliness, formalism and unbelief effectually broken and

New Spiritual Movements Ushered In.

Conspicuous among the evangelists of this period were Rev. Asahel Nettleton, of Connecticut, who commenced his ministry in 1811, and Revs. Charles G. Finney, Jacob Knapp, and John Lord, who came forward later. About the year 1826 certain "new measures," as they were called, began to be employed for arresting the attention of men and bringing them to Christ. They consisted chiefly in a bolder and more denunciatory style of preaching, praying for individuals by name, reading at the commencement of a meeting notes handed to the preacher by individuals requesting

* Semi-centennial Sermon. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Lectures on Revivals of Religion.* By Rev. Wm. Sprague, D.D. Albany, 1832. Appendix, p. 151.

§ *Ibid*, p. 130. ‖ *Christian Spectator*, June, 1833.

prayers for impenitent friends, inviting seekers to an "anxious seat," and committing seekers to special promises. In the Presbyterian and Congregational churches these were new measures, and much controversy and estrangement was produced. A convention for the consideration of these measures was held at New Lebanon, N. Y., July 18–28, 1827, composed of twenty clergymen from New York and New England. The discussion was able and spiritual, but no agreement was reached; the revivalists continued to use their peculiar methods as before, and the revivals went on. *

In 1827 "Four Days' Meetings," so called because usually held through four days, the entire time each day and evening being sacredly devoted to religious services, were instituted in New Hampshire by that remarkable man, Rev. John Lord, and widely adopted in other States with great results. From 1826 to 1832 revivals of religion were very common and of unusual power, considered by some "the most general and remarkable work of grace recorded in the annals of the American Church." Divine influences descended like abundant showers of rain, cities and rural localities sharing alike in the blessings. It laid and cemented the foundations of many city churches, and filled the colleges and theological seminaries with consecrated young men, who have spent many years since in the Gospel ministry. In the city of New Haven in a single year (1831) nine hundred conversions were reported. Revivals of religion were intimately connected with the great temperance reform † of that time, the two movements mutually supplementing and helping each other. From about the first of February, 1831, through five succeeding months an unusual interest pervaded the whole United States. Thousands never before moved gave attention to personal religion. It was estimated upon a credible basis of facts that during these five months a special revival interest was felt in not less than fifteen hundred towns, besides more than as many others which shared in some degree in the refreshing, and that more than fifty thousand persons professed to have become partakers of saving grace, over three hundred of whom were students in colleges. Many persons of eminent character and influence shared in the quickening. The principal cities were signally favored, all the leading denominations kindly and vigorously co-operating. Very few extravagances were witnessed, and the practical fruits were numerous instances of reparation of injuries and restoration of plundered property. In the six years from 1826 to 1832 it was estimated that two hundred thousand people united with the leading de-

* See *Christian Spectator* for 1827, p. 499.

† See Chapter IV of this period, Section I.

nominations as communicants, sixty thousand of whom were young men.

The financial panic of 1836–37 was followed by powerful revivals; and, again, revivals accompanied the Millerite excitement from 1842–45. In the latter the work was largely abnormal, and the churches were filled with converts who soon dropped out of the ranks. A serious reaction followed, and a painful declension closed the period, extending through about a dozen years, until the revival of 1857–58.

Section 5.—College Revivals.

Nor were the colleges passed by in these divine visitations.

In Yale College, in 1802, then under the presidency of Rev. Timothy Dwight, D.D., LL.D., the Holy Spirit was poured out. Infidelity in the college at this time has been elsewhere* sketched. In 1795 only eleven under-graduates were members of the college church. Four years after the number was reduced to four or five, and at one communion only a single student was present, several others being absent from town. In 1801 a strong desire for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit prevailed among the faithful few, who met in "an upper room" for prayer. Early in the spring of 1802 promising indications appeared. First a senior yielded to the gracious influence, followed soon by another senior, Jeremiah Evarts; then by several more, then by fifty more, and others, until seventy-five out of about two hundred and thirty students in all professed conversion and united with the church. About one half became ministers of the Gospel. Those were "memorable days." The change in the moral and social aspects of the college deeply impressed the city. After the usual vacation interruption the same character predominated. This revival exerted such a powerful influence in breaking the power of the infidelity of that period that it never recovered. In 1808 there was a revival in which about thirty students professed conversion, three fourths of whom became ministers of the Gospel; in 1812 and 1813 about twenty students professed conversion, among whom was Rev. Elias Cornelius, for many years a prominent Congregational minister in Boston, of most estimable character, and Secretary of the American Education Society; in 1815 another revival, numbering eighty converts, one of whom was Rev. Wm. Nevins, D.D., subsequently a distinguished minister in Balti-

* See Chapter IV, Period I.

more; in 1823–24, about thirty converts; in 1827, thirty more, and still another in 1828. The spring of 1831 will be long remembered for its wonderful revival, and the three following years were characterized by an abiding religious interest. In the year 1835 about fifty students became hopeful converts, and in 1836–37 there were spiritual visitations. In the space of ninety-six years (1741–1837) this college was favored with twenty distinct effusions of the Holy Spirit, of which only three were in the last century. *

In Dartmouth College, from 1800 to 1830, there were five revivals—in 1805, 1815, 1819, 1821, and 1826. In the revival of 1815 sixty students professed conversion. There were also revivals in 1831 and 1834, and later. It was said that in the first sixty-five years of this institution, as the result of the revivals, ninety-five ministers of the Gospel were thrust out, one of whom, not to speak of others, Rev. Dr. Alvan Hyde, gathered into his church more than seven hundred converts.

In Amherst College, founded in 1821, after the Congregationalists abandoned all idea of retaining any control of Harvard University, there were marked revivals in 1823, 1827, 1828, 1831, and 1835, besides others of lesser power, making twelve in the first twelve years of its existence. Rev. Dr. Heman Humphrey has said: †

> During a considerable part of the time three fourths of the under-graduates were professors of religion, and there has always been a majority. No class has ever passed through the college and graduated without witnessing at least one revival and sharing in its blessings. Of the whole number of alumni in 1838, which amounts to 556, nearly three fourths are professors of religion, and more than half of them are in the ministry or preparing for it, and about twenty have gone forth as missionaries.

In Williams College there were great revivals of religion. Founded when morals were low, and when French infidelity was rife, the progress of religion was slow at first; but a revival commenced in 1805 and progressed slowly through the summer. In the summer of 1806 the interest deepened and widened, Messrs. Samuel J. Mills and James Richards, subsequently widely known in evangelizing labors, being prominent actors. In 1812, the era of serious national embarrassments, the religious interest ran low and intemperance appeared among the students. Some hearts were moved to earnest prayer, and nearly forty students professed conversion. In 1815 there was another revival; another in 1819, and one of wider extent and

* For a fuller account of Revivals in Yale College see *American Quarterly Register*, 1838, article by Prof. Chauncy Goodrich, D.D. P. 289, etc.

† *American Quarterly Register*, 1839, p. 327.

power, under the presidency of Rev. Dr. E. D. Griffin, in 1825, 1826, and 1827. Revivals also occurred in 1832, 1838, 1840, and still later. Those of 1838 and 1840 were very powerful, effecting a great change in the morals of the students.*

In the year 1831 revivals occurred in fifteen colleges, gathering in over three hundred students as converts. Similar occurrences in numerous years might be stated in the other colleges. The old academies at Wilbraham, Mass.; Newbury, Vt.; Kent's Hill, Me.; Poultney, Vt.; Amenia, Cazenovia and Lima, N. Y., and many others elsewhere, of all denominations, have seldom passed a year without some revival interest. Thousands of young persons have been brought into the churches while attending these institutions.

Section 6.—The Effects

of the revival of 1799–1803 were extensive, abiding, and in the highest degree salutary.

1. It was the beginning of a reformation from a low state of morals and religion which had long and alarmingly prevailed.

2. It gave the first check to the rampant infidelity of the times.

3. It exploded from the evangelical churches the remains of the "Half-Way Covenant," whose influence had been so deleterious. Thenceforth spiritual religion came into greater prominence in the churches.

4. It gave rise to the numerous evangelizing enterprises so conspicuous in the churches during the century. The Home Missionary movements, then slightly incepted, were infused with new life, multiplied, expanded, and energized. An immediate powerful impulse was felt to spread the Gospel in destitute frontiers, among the blacks and Indians. Out of this new life also sprang Tract, Bible, Sunday-school, educational, city and foreign mission societies.

Rev. Dr. Gardner Spring† said:

> From the year 1800 down to the year 1825 there was an uninterrupted series of these celestial visitations spreading over different parts of the land. During the whole of these twenty-five years there was not a month in which we could not point to some village, some city, some seminary of learning, and say, "Behold, what hath God wrought!"

Rev. Dr. Heman Humphrey said:

> In looking back fifty years and more the great revival of that period strikes me in its thoroughness, in its depth, in its freedom from animal and unhealthy excite-

* *Am. Quarterly Register*, 1841, pp. 472, 473. † *Personal Reminiscences*. Vol I, p. 160.

ment, and its far-reaching influence on subsequent revivals, as having been decidedly in advance of any that had preceded it. It was the opening of a new revival epoch, which has lasted now more than half a century, with but short and partial interruptions—and, blessed be God, the end is not yet. The glorious cause of religion and philanthropy has advanced till it would require a space that cannot be afforded in these sketches so much as to name the Christian and humane societies which have sprung up all over our land within the last forty years. Exactly how much we at home and the world abroad are indebted for these organizations, so rich in blessings, to the revivals of 1800 it is impossible to say, though much every way—more than enough to magnify the grace of God in the instruments he employed, in the immediate fruits of their labors, and the subsequent harvests springing from the good seed which was sown by the men whom God delighted thus to honor. It cannot be denied that modern missions sprung out of these revivals. The immediate connection between them, as cause and effect, was remarkably clear in the organization of the first societies, which have since accomplished so much; and the impulse which they gave to the churches to extend the blessings which they were diffusing by forming the later affiliated societies of like aims and character is scarcely less obvious.

*TAKEN ALTOGETHER THE REVIVAL PERIOD AT THE CLOSE OF THE LAST CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT FURNISHES AMPLE MATERIALS FOR A LONG AND GLORIOUS CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.**

* Dr. Humphrey was a member of Yale College in 1802. See his *Revival Sketches.*

CHAPTER II.

THE NEW LIFE EXPANDING—THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

SEC. 1. Moral and Religious Condition.
" 2. Ecclesiastical Beginnings.
" 3. Trials of Pioneer Preachers.
SEC. 4. Roman Catholic Opposition.
" 5. Improvement from 1830 to 1850.
" 6. Benevolent and Educational Work.

DURING the fifty years of this period a great change came over the vast western valley. Twelve vigorous States with rapidly-multiplying people were added to the Union, and still larger Territories, with the beginnings of civil order and numerous schemes and enterprises, were soon after received into the sisterhood of States. The population of this region increased from 500,000 in 1800 to 8,247,373 in 1850—a sixteenfold advance. The material resources unfolded in a still greater ratio, and the boundless capabilities, outreaching the largest expectations, called for the utmost activity and zeal of the churches. It soon became evident that there was to be a struggle for the possession of this inviting field. At the outset the Roman Catholic Church was the only religious occupant. Shall Protestantism enter, and will Protestant enterprise keep pace with the growth of society and promptly bear her ministrations to the new communities? Such was the question —one of great interest and importance.

The early Roman Catholic occupancy of this region has been already noticed at considerable length in previous chapters. In Illinois, as early as 1683, the year of the founding of Philadelphia, several permanent settlements were made under Roman Catholic direction, and in Michigan, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana and Mississippi, for about one hundred years prior to the present century, many points were held by the papists; in Alabama nearly as long, and in Florida for more than two hundred years prior to this century. Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana remained under foreign rule and papal control until 1803, and Florida until 1820. At the beginning of this century, therefore, all the vast territory from Lake St. Clair to "the howling

wilderness" beyond Wisconsin, and from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and eastward on the coast line to Florida, was under the sole religious control of Roman Catholics. Whatever religious occupancy there was, was papal, and in some localities there were very considerable populations mixtures of French, Spanish and Indians.

Section 1.—The Moral and Religious Condition.

of these new regions at the opening of this century was most deplorable. Rev. Jacob Young, who went to Illinois in 1804, said: "The bulk of the people are given up to wickedness of every kind. Of all places this is the worst for stealing, fighting and lying. 'My soul, come not into their secret places!'" Rev. Jesse Walker, who went to St. Louis in 1820, said "the population was made up mostly of Catholics and infidels, very dissipated and wicked." It was thought that no Protestant minister could gain access to them, and he was advised to return to his family. Rev. Elisha B. Bowman, who went to New Orleans in 1805, said:

As for the settlements of this country, there are none that are composed of Americans. From Baton Rouge, the Spanish fort, which stands on the east bank of the Mississippi, down two hundred miles, it is settled immediately on each bank by French and Spaniards. When I reached the city I was much disappointed in finding but few American people there, and a majority of that few may be truly called beasts of men. . . . The Lord's day is the day of general rant in this city. Public balls are held, traffic of every kind is carried on, public sales, wagons running, and drums beating; and thus is the Sabbath spent. . . . I reached the Opelousas country, and the next day I reached the Catholic church. I was surprised to see race-paths at the church door. Here I found a few Americans, who were swearing with almost every breath; and when I reproved them they told me that the priest swore as hard as they did. They said he would play cards and dance with them every Sunday evening after mass; and, strange to tell, he keeps a race-horse and practices every abomination.

About twenty miles further he found another settlement consisting of American people.

"They knew," he says, "but little more about the nature of salvation than the untaught Indians. Some of them, after I had preached to them, asked what I meant by the fall of man, and when it was that he fell. They are perishing for lack of knowledge and are truly in a pitiable condition."

Detroit.

"Although Detroit was visited as early as 1610, and a settlement effected and a fort erected in 1701, it was not until 1805 that a Territorial government was established in Michigan. Among the

earliest settlers were emigrants sent out (1749) from France at the expense of the Government.* In 1801, when Rev. Mr. Badger, a Congregational missionary, reached Detroit he reported that 'there was not one Christian to be found in all that region, except a black man who appeared pious.' In 1804 it was spoken of as 'a most abandoned place.' At this time Rev. Dr. Nathan Bangs visited it as a Methodist missionary, and a Congregational minister told him that he had preached in Detroit until none but a few children would come to hear him. 'If you can succeed,' he added—'which I very much doubt—I shall rejoice.' He did not succeed, but 'shook off the dust of his feet as a testimony against them and took his departure.' Barely a month elapsed after this significant expression of disappointed effort before the place was almost entirely destroyed by fire, a single house only remaining uninjured."† Rev. Mr. Monteith, in 1816, said: "There is no Sabbath in this country." It was said of Mackinaw, in 1820, that "the Christian Sabbath had not got so far." "The general aspect of manners among the troops gave an idea of infernal spirits rather than of human beings."‡

Kentucky.

The low state of morals and the prevalence of infidelity in Kentucky at the close of the last century have been before referred to. This condition was somewhat improved after the great revival of 1800, but some localities were not reached by its influence, and new centers of population were constantly forming in wild regions. Professional men were generally avowed unbelievers. In many places with a considerably large population there was not a place of worship. Mr. Samuel J. Mills, who visited that section in the interest of home missions in 1813, spent a Sabbath in Kentucky in a town of two or three thousand inhabitants without being able to collect a congregation to listen to the word of life. Negroes stood in groups in the streets, laughing and swearing; boys played and hallooed, while the men on the outskirts were shooting pigeons and the more respectable class were riding about for amusement. The Sabbath was distinguished from other days only by greater noise, amusement, profanity and dissipation. This was by no means a solitary case. Ten years later there were three large flourishing churches in that place. In 1818, in Danville, Ky., with a population of twelve hundred people, there was not a single male

* *Sketches of the City of Detroit*, p. 3. † Bangs's *History of Methodism.*
‡ Gillett's *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* Vol. II, p. 437.

member of the Presbyterian church; and the only other church was the Roman Catholic. There were many deists there. Lexington had been the head-quarters of Jacobinism in Kentucky, and for many years after it remained under the dominion of infidelity, which supplanted the Presbyterians in Transylvania University. This was the predominant influence until 1828, when a powerful revival spread through the place, in which five hundred persons united with the churches. From that time infidelity lost its ascendency.

Rev. Benjamin Low, who visited Shawnee Town, Ill., about eight miles below the mouth of the Wabash, in 1817, said that among its two or three hundred inhabitants there was not a single one that "made any pretensions to religion." "Their shocking profaneness was enough to make one afraid to walk the street, and those who on the Sabbath were not fighting and drinking at the taverns and grog-shops were either hunting in the woods or trading behind their counters." Of the five hundred inhabitants of Kaskaskia one half were French and Roman Catholics. Among the other half were six professors of religion, two Presbyterians, two Methodists, one Congregationalist and one seceder. The Sabbath was scarcely recognized.*

Section 2.—Ecclesiastical Beginnings.

In the preceding period the origin of the leading religious bodies in Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio was briefly sketched. Still more distant frontiers in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, etc., were penetrated and occupied by the advancing population of the present period, opening new doors for Christian zeal and enterprise.

The *Baptists* were among the first religious pioneers in these new States. In Indiana several small Baptist churches were formed along the Whitewater River about the year 1802. Seven years later they had increased to nine churches, with 380 members, and were organized into an association. In Illinois the first Baptist church was organized at New Design, in 1796, and the first association in 1807, consisting of five churches. The first Baptists in Missouri (then Upper Louisiana) consisted of families emigrating from North Carolina and Kentucky as early as 1796 and 1797, where they lived several years under the Spanish Government without church priv-

* Gillett's *History of the Presbyterian Church.* Vol. II, p. 416.

ileges. Rev. John Clark, an Englishman by birth and originally a Methodist, was the first Baptist preacher in this State. No toleration being allowed to Protestant worship under Spanish rule their meetings were often broken up. After this region was ceded to the United States, in 1803, Protestants more freely entered it, and the first Baptist church was organized in 1804, at Tywappity. The first church of this denomination in St. Louis was constituted in 1818. In Arkansas a Baptist church was organized at Fourche à Thomas, Lawrence County, in 1818. In Michigan no Baptist church was organized until 1824, and in ten years they had increased to fifty. In Mississippi Rev. Richard Curtis organized a church in 1797, consisting of Baptist emigrants from South Carolina. Mr. Curtis suffered much from Spanish and papal intolerance, and for a while was driven from the region. Revs. Messrs. Cooper, Snodgrass and Stamply were some of the early pioneer preachers of this faith, and a Baptist Association was organized in 1807 in the south-western part of the State. In 1815 there were two associations, with 46 churches, 30 ministers, and 2,348 members. A State Convention was formed in 1822. From this State Baptist emigrants entered Louisiana.

The earliest *Congregational* church in Michigan was organized in 1827, in Indiana in 1835, in Illinois in 1833 and in the other States at still later dates. They claim to have suffered much in the West as a denomination from the relations which they sustained to the Presbyterians, many of their first churches and members being absorbed by the latter.

The Presbyterians.

The first movement of the *Presbyterian* Church in Mississippi was made in the autumn of 1800 by Rev. James Hall, of North Carolina, under a commission of the General Assembly. He began a mission in Natchez, assisted by two brethren. Missions were subsequently established at Bayou Pierre, Bethany and Amity. In 1816 the Mississippi Presbytery was constituted with four ministers. The first Presbyterian church in Natchez was not formed until 1817. The oldest church was that at Bethel, organized in 1804. In 1815 the General Assembly sent Rev. Ezra Fisk to New Orleans to labor four months. The following year Rev. Elias Cornelius was appointed by the trustees of the Connecticut Missionary Society to visit New Orleans to examine into its moral condition and establish a church. He was followed in 1818 by Rev. Sylvester Larned. By the united labors of these men the foundations of Presbyterianism in that city were laid. In 1825 the Presbytery of Mississippi and Louisiana

consisted of but thirteen ministers, of whom eight were missionaries sent out by the Assembly's Board. The population of these two States was then 250,000. One of the earliest Presbyterian missionaries in Alabama was Rev. J. W. Platt, sent out by the Young Men's Evangelical Missionary Society of New York. He entered upon his labors in Huntsville in 1819. Revs. Francis H. Porter, Lucas Kennedy, James L. Sloss and Highland Hurlburt were also early laborers in this field. In 1825 the two presbyteries of Alabama and Northern Alabama, covering the whole State, contained seventeen ministers, and in 1830 they numbered 29 ministers, 41 churches and 1,713 members.* The first Presbyterian church in Florida was organized by Rev. William McWhir in 1824, at St. Augustine. At this time there was no other Protestant missionary in that State. A missionary of the Methodist Church had been laboring there, but had left. For several years this was the only Presbyterian church in Florida.

The first Presbyterian missionaries sent into Indiana were Rev. Thomas Williamson, in 1805, and Rev. Samuel Holt, in 1806. The first Presbyterian church was constituted at Vincennes in 1806, by Rev. Samuel B. Robinson. Rev. Samuel Thornton Scott, of Kentucky, was the first resident minister. In 1830 Presbyterianism numbered in Indiana 34 ministers, 84 churches and about 3,000 members. The earliest notice taken of Illinois as a missionary field by the Presbyterians was in 1816, when Rev. Backus Wilbur was sent to labor in that State. The next year he was followed by Revs. John F. Crowe and Eliphalet W. Gilbert. In 1828 the Presbytery of Illinois Center was organized. The first Presbyterian missionary to Missouri reached St. Louis in 1816. The population was largely French and Roman Catholic, with only two or three professed Presbyterians. The first church was organized in 1816, at Bellevue, in Washington County. The first in St. Louis was formed in 1817, consisting of only nine members, and it was eight years before they were able to complete their house of worship. In 1830 the Presbytery of Missouri had but 8 ministers, with 86 churches and about 400 members. The first Presbyterian missionary, Rev. John Monteith, reached Michigan in 1816, and commenced his labors at Detroit. Others were sent soon after. In the course of a few years churches were gathered at Monroe, Meigs, Detroit, Ypsilanti, Dexter, Farmington, Bloomfield, Pontiac, Mackinaw, Strasburg, Ann Arbor, etc. The Presbytery of Detroit was erected in 1827, consisting or five ministers.

* *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* By Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D. Vol. II, p. 392.

"A plan of union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements," for the purpose of facilitating the establishment of churches on the frontiers, was arranged and adopted at the beginning of the century. It was first agreed upon in 1801 by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Association of Connecticut—the only body of the kind then existing among the Congregationalists—and subsequently adopted by the General Association of Massachusetts. The provisions of this "Plan" were, that "Presbyterians and Congregationalists emigrating to the new settlements of the West should be encouraged to foster a spirit of mutual forbearance and accommodation;" that a Congregational church settling a Presbyterian minister, or *vice versa*, may still "conduct their discipline" according to their own ecclesiastical principles; and that in case the church should be of a mixed character—partly Presbyterian and partly Congregational—they should "choose a standing committee from the communicants of said church," to issue all cases of discipline without consulting any body else, but allowing the condemned member to appeal, if he were a Presbyterian, to the Presbytery, if a Congregationalist to the Church. This compact is claimed by eminent Congregational authority to have been uncongregational, the General Association having no right to make it, being merely a body of ministers, and that under its operation "scores of churches gradually slid off from the Congregational platform, as hundreds have since."* Yet it is probable that it was the means of more widely extending the Gospel.

The Methodists.

The *Methodists* ventured within the present limits of the State of Indiana in 1802,† when there were only a few scattered settlers, and the first society was organized in Gassaway, Clark County. In 1810 three circuits had been formed, with four preachers and 760 members. Rev. Benjamin Young was sent to Illinois in 1804, when the population numbered a few hundreds. The following year he reported 67 communicants. In 1830, in Illinois and Indiana, there were reported 22,000 Methodist communicants. In 1803 a Methodist local preacher by the name of Freeman found his way to Detroit and preached there. The following year Rev. Nathan Bangs, then traveling a circuit in Canada, visited Detroit and preached, though without apparent success. He was followed five years later

* *Historical Sketch of the Congregational Church.* By Rev. Joseph S. Clark, D.D. Pp. 241-2.

† *Annals of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Indiana.* By Rev. Aaron Wood, 1854. P. 3.

by Rev. William Case, and subsequently by an Irish local preacher named Mitchell. The first Methodist Society in Michigan was organized in 1810, in the town of Monroe, but it was soon broken up. The population at that time was a very difficult class to mold. The first permanent Society was formed in 1815, and in 1830 676 Methodist communicants were reported from that State. Methodism was introduced into Missouri in 1804, by Rev. Joseph Oglesby, who reconnoitered Missouri Territory to the extremity of the settlements, preaching wherever he could find a few people. In 1806 he was followed by Rev. Jesse Walker—"the Daniel Boone of Western Methodism"—one of the most indomitable spirits in its band of heroic pioneer preachers. The next year Rev. John Travis, then a mere youth, was assigned to this circuit. In 1816 Missouri and Illinois were united in a Conference, and called the Missouri Conference, with no western boundary, but "including the last Methodist cabin toward the setting sun."

About 1815 or 1816 Methodism was introduced into Arkansas. In 1799 Rev. Tobias Gibson, a native of Georgia, commenced to lay the foundations of Methodism in Natchez, Mississippi. It was a far-off region, reached by several hundred miles of travel on horseback through the wilderness, mostly along Indian trails, until he struck the Cumberland River, thence down that river and the Mississippi in a canoe six or eight hundred miles further. "The new Society here organized was like a new sign in the far-off southern heavens. To the pioneer preachers of Kentucky and Tennessee it was as the constellation of the cross to spiritual mariners in the southern seas. It opened a boundless prospect of progress, and the word Natchez sounded like a new order of march to the itinerants and their cause—that march which they have since made over Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and even to the Pacific boundary of California."* Eight years later five circuits were reported in that south-western region, with six preachers and 415 members. In 1803 the eccentric Lorenzo Dow penetrated into the present limits of Alabama, and was there again in 1804. Colonel Rickett, in his *History of Alabama*, says that he preached the first Protestant sermon delivered in that State. In 1807 missionaries were sent there by Bishop Asbury from the South Carolina Conference. The term "missionary" in those days implied that "they were to push to regions beyond." They commenced their labors between the Oconee and the Tombigbee rivers, an Indian country of four hundred miles extent.†

* Stevens's *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* Vol. IV, p. 131.

† *Ibid.* Pp. 201-2.

In 1805 Rev. Elisha W. Bowman was sent by Bishop Asbury to introduce Methodism into Louisiana. He made his way to Opelousas and New Orleans, traversing the whole country, preaching and warning the people, whom he found in a very low state of morality, thus laying the foundations of the Church in that region. In 1807 Rev. Jacob Young was sent to preside over the work in Mississippi and Louisiana, and was successively followed by Revs. John McClure and Miles Harper, and soon after by Rev. William Winans, a noted name in the history of that country.

In 1830 there were 37 Presbyterian churches in Indiana, with 1,700 members; in Illinois, 13 churches, with about 500 members; in Missouri, 17 churches, with 605 members; in Michigan, 6 churches; in Mississippi and Alabama, 64 churches, with about 2,500 members. The Protestant Episcopal Church had 16 clergymen in Ohio, 4 in Mississippi, 5 in Kentucky, 3 in Tennessee, 3 in Louisiana, 1 in Arkansas, 3 in Missouri, and 5 in Michigan. The Cumberland Presbyterians numbered about 7,000 communicants and 70 churches in all the West. At this time the German Reformed Church had organized a Synod in Ohio; the Tunkers had 40 or 50 churches in the West; the Shakers had two churches in Kentucky and 2 in Ohio; and there were a few other small sects. The Friends were established in Ohio in 1812 and in Indiana in 1821

Section 3.—The Trials of the Pioneer Preachers.

and missionaries in the West, often of the most disheartening character, deserve mention. Their labors extended through sparse villages and open prairies, with individual settlers widely scattered. They traveled by Indian trails and marked trees. In the winter the roads were so bad and the bridges so few that they were sometimes obliged to desist from traveling. Often sleeping in the woods or on the open prairies on their saddle blankets; cooking their coarse meals by the way; fording streams on horseback with saddle-bags and blankets lifted to their shoulders; exposed without shelter to storms, and drying their garments and blankets by camp-fires when no friendly cabin could be found, in a few years they became sallow, weather-beaten and toil-worn, and appeared among their brethren in the occasional ministerial gatherings without decent apparel and unused to the amenities of civilized society. A pioneer preacher in Louisiana in 1805 wrote:

Every day I travel I have to swim through creeks or swamps, and I am wet from head to feet, and some days from morning to night I am dripping with water. I tie all my "plunder" fast on my horse, take him by the bridle and swim sometimes a hundred yards and often further. My horse's legs are now skinned and rough to his hock joints, and I have rheumatism in all my joints. . . . What I have suffered in body and mind my pen is not able to communicate to you; but this I can say, while my body is wet with water and chilled with cold my soul is filled with heavenly fire, and I can say with St. Paul, "But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy."

These bold emissaries of the cross often lost their way and widely wandered over unbroken fields. They constantly encountered the most godless, reckless and degraded men—sometimes more malicious and savage than the wild Indians and ferocious beasts—who had fled thither from the retributions of justice in the older settlements. Often prostrated by fevers or wasted by malaria the years of pioneer service with many were few and severe, while others, endowed with extraordinary constitutions, lived to become apostles of moral heroism, venerable in years and weighty in words and character. Peter Cartwright, Peter Akers, Alfred Brunson and Aaron Wood came down to our times, while James B. Finley, Jacob Young, William Winans, James Axley, Jesse Walker, Tobias Gibson, and a long list of other honored names, belonged to the militant ranks that fell in the earlier struggles.

Much has been said of the large circuits of the early itinerant preachers of the West. The following careful statement will convey a very clear view of them. Rev. Alfred Brunson, who traveled one of these large circuits in 1822–3, says that it "extended to all the white settlements of the Territory (Michigan), except the one at St. Mary's, the outlet of Lake Superior, which was perhaps hardly white. From Detroit we went north to Pontiac, then but a small village. From thence we went down the Upper Huron, now the Clinton River, to Mount Clemens, and thence down Lake St. Clair and river to Detroit, and thence again to the River Rouse, and up that stream some seven miles to the upper settlement, thence back to the river and lake-road leading to Monroe on the River Raisin; up that nine miles, mostly on an Indian trail, to the upper settlement, and back by the same path to the lake-road, and on to the Maumee at the foot of the rapids, and thence right back on the lake-road fifty-eight miles to Detroit. It required four weeks to get round, though we had but twelve appointments."*

**A Western Pioneer, or Incidents in the Life of Rev. Alfred Brunson, D.D.* Cincinnati. 872. Hitchcock & Walden. Vol. I, pp. 267-8.

Section 4.—Roman Catholic Opposition.

It has been already stated that as late as 1803 the region now comprised in the States of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama (and until 1820 Florida also), was subject to foreign sway, which tolerated only the Roman Catholic faith. For a long period, too, in Michigan and other localities in the Northwest the papal religion held the ascendency among the early mixed populations, greatly embarrassing Protestant efforts. In Missouri the early Baptists suffered from severe privations and were denied freedom of worship. Their ministers were threatened with the *Calaboza* (Spanish prison), but through the leniency of the commandant they were permitted to escape. They were wholly surrounded by the rites and laws of Romanism. "In these times of restriction Rev. Abraham Musick applied to Zeno Trudeau, the commandant at St. Louis, an officer quite friendly to the Protestant emigrants, for leave to have preaching at his own house. The commandant was secretly inclined to favor the Americans, but was compelled to reject all such petitions openly, and replied promptly that such a petition could not be granted." *

St. Louis in 1820.

The religious sentiment of St. Louis was almost wholly Roman Catholic, and it was not until 1818, fifteen years after ancient† Louisiana was ceded to the United States, that the first Protestant society was organized in that city. This was a Baptist church. An Episcopal church was erected about that time, and the first movement to collect and organize a Methodist society was made in 1820. The struggle for its accomplishment has had but few parallels in the modern history of Christianity. Any other man than Jesse Walker would have been appalled and left the city. He had resolved to plant a Methodist society in the Romish metropolis, where, up to that time, the Methodist itinerants had "never found rest for the soles of their feet." He laid his plans and selected two young ministerial brethren of undoubted courage to go and stand by him "to the bitter end."

When they reached St. Louis the Territorial Legislature was in session there, and every public place appeared to be full. The missionaries preferred private lodgings, but could obtain none. Some people laughed at them and others cursed them to their face. Thus embarrassed at every point, they rode into the public square and held

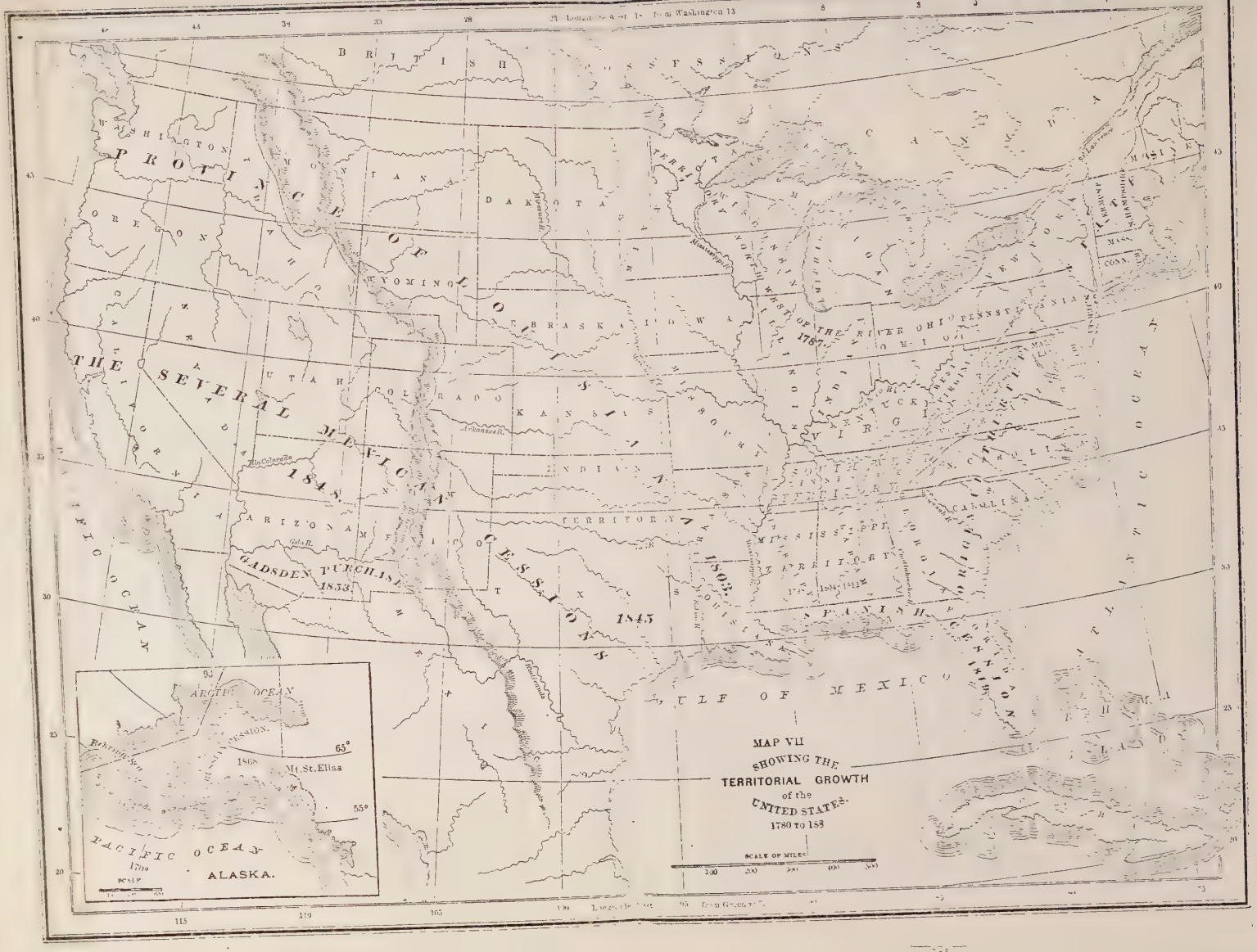
* *American Quarterly Register*, 1840-1, p. 173. Article by Rev John M. Peck, A.M., of Illinois.

† Louisiana, in the earlier period, comprised Missouri, Arkansas, and all the country west of the Mississippi River.

a consultation sitting on their horses. The prospect was gloomy enough, and every avenue seemed closed against them. The young preachers expressed strong doubts as to their being in the path of duty. Their leader tried to encourage them, but in vain. They thought, if the Lord had any work for them to do there, there would surely be some way to get to it. They thought it best immediately to return to the place from which they had come, and, though their elder brother entreated them not to leave him, they deliberately shook off the dust of their feet for a testimony against the wicked city, and, taking leave of Walker, rode off and left him sitting on his horse. Perhaps that hour brought with it more of the feeling of despondency to Jesse Walker than he ever experienced in any other hour of his eventful life; and stung with disappointment he said in his haste, "I will go to the State of Mississippi and hunt up the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He immediately turned his horse in that direction, and with a sorrowful heart rode off alone. Having proceeded about eighteen miles he came to a halt and entered into a soliloquy in this wise, "Was I ever defeated before in this blessed work? Never. Did any one ever trust in the Lord Jesus Christ and get confounded? No; and by the grace of God I will go back and take St. Louis." Then reversing his course, without seeking either rest or refreshment for man or beast, he immediately retraced his steps to the city, and with some difficulty obtained lodgings in an indifferent inn, where he paid at the highest rate for every thing. The next morning he commenced a survey of the city and its inhabitants. He met with some members of the Territorial Legislature who knew him, and said, "Why, Father Walker, what has brought you here?" His answer was, "I have come to take St. Louis." They thought it a hopeless undertaking, and to convince him that it was so remarked that the inhabitants were mostly Catholics and infidels, very dissipated and wicked, and that there was no probability that a Methodist preacher could obtain any access to them. They seriously advised him to abandon the enterprise and return to his family, then residing in Illinois. But to all such expressions Walker returned one answer, "I have come in the name of Christ to take St. Louis, and by the grace of God I will do it." *

His first public experiment was in a place occupied by the Baptists, but he was soon excluded from this. He then rented an unfinished dwelling-house. This he fitted up himself with his own hands. Five days in the week he taught, without fee or reward, the rudiments of education to the children who would come; and several evenings each week he gave instruction to servants and other adults. Gradually his rude chapel was filled with hearers and the school with children. Then the hired house changed hands and he was compelled to vacate it. A gentleman gave him permission to cut timber for a chapel in his forest, a little way off across the Mississippi, and he built a house of worship. New friends rose up to aid him. At the close of the year he reported seventy members and the chapel erected and paid for. He was reappointed to St. Louis the next year, and in 1822 the Missouri Conference held its first session in that city.

* *Sketches.* By Rev. Thomas A. Morris, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.


PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA
THE SEVERAL MEXICAN PURCHASES
1845
GADSDEN PURCHASE
1853
1803
1845
1787
1784
1812
TERRITORY
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
Behring Sea
Russian Possessions
1808
M.t St.Elias
65°
55°
1700
ALASKA.
MAP VII
SHOWING THE
TERRITORIAL GROWTH
of the
UNITED STATES.
1780 to 183
SCALE OF MILES

Similar struggles attended the introduction of Protestantism into Louisiana, Florida and Mississippi, amid the formidable opposition of Romanism. In Mississippi the first Baptists were driven away by the papists.

Michigan has been alluded to. It has been noticed that the Methodists did not obtain a permanent foothold there until 1815, and even after that time until 1830 their growth was very slow. The first Protestant church edifice was not erected until 1818. The first Baptist church was organized in 1824, and the first Congregational church in 1827. The Presbyterians entered the State about 1820. Rev. Alfred Brunson says* that in 1822 there were only fourteen Methodist communicants in Detroit, and that in his whole circuit, which embraced the entire settled portion of the Territory, and, in addition, the Maumee settlement in Ohio, there were only 130 communicants of that denomination. The only other Protestant minister at that time in the Territory besides himself and colleague was a Presbyterian licentiate who was unordained, and to whose flock Brunson was accustomed to administer the sacraments. So slow amid the early papal influences of that region was the introduction and spread of Protestant Christianity.

We have prepared the following exhibit of the ecclesiastical statistics of the Valley of the Mississippi, reckoning from the Alleghany Mountains westward, and south to the Gulf of Mexico for the year 1830:†

Denominations.	Ministers.	Societies or Churches.	Communicants.
Presbyterian	614	924	60,407
Methodist	638‡	1,500	173,083
Baptist	1,063	1,701	90,000
Protestant Episcopal	51	60§	2,000§
Cumberland Presbyterian	40§	70§	7,000§
Other small sects	70§	200	16,000§
Total	2,476	4,455	348,490

The population of this region was about 4,000,000 at that time.

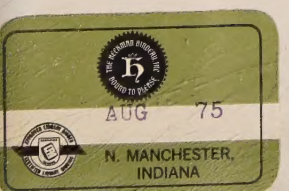
Testimonies as to the Moral Condition of the West,

dating about 1830, show that notwithstanding all that had been done, and the numerous religious bodies organized and established in the Mississippi valley, yet in many localities great immorality and religious destitution still prevailed.

*A Western Pioneer. Cincinnati. 1872. Hitchcock & Walden. Vol. I, p. 265.

† In part from the *American Quarterly Register*, 1830-1, p. 135.

‡ Traveling preachers. § Estimated.


AUG 75
N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA